HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XVIII, No. 11 Copyright 1968 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC. March 16, 1968 35¢

Pushed in Riot Commission Report

LBJ Preparing $3,000 Minimum Income Proposal

By PAUL SCOTT

President Johnson is moving toward public endorsement of the idea that the federal government should guarantee a minimum income for every family.

This controversial pronouncement, which is expected during the coming presidential campaign, is indicated by a number of backstage maneuvers by the President to build up public support.

Most important of these was the role played by the President in getting the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders to boost the idea in its monumental study.

The commission was deadlocked over the guaranteed annual income issue until the President sent word to Illinois' Gov. Otto Kerner, chairman, that he wanted the proposal included among the commission's major recommendations.

By a one-vote margin the commission then adopted a White House-drafted recommendation offered by Sen. Fred R. Harris (D.-Okla.), an Administration supporter, stating:

"As a long-range goal, the commission recommends that the federal government seek to develop a national system of income supplementation based strictly on need."

This would have two "broad and basic purposes," says the commission's study:

- To provide, for those able to work, "any necessary supplements in such a way as to develop incentives for fuller employment."
- For those who can work (and for mothers who decide to remain with their children) "a minimum standard of decent living and aid in saving children from the prison of poverty that has held their parents."

The unannounced prodding of the commission was the second major effort by the President this year to build up public support for the controversial proposal before he gives it his official blessing later in the year.

On January 2, while the President's statements on travel taxes and balance-of-payments deficits made the headlines, he quietly appointed a commission on income maintenance.

The appointment of Ben W. Heineman, one of the President's closest business-welfare advisers to be chairman of the commission, came at the end of a routine news release on the President's signing of the 1967 Social Security amendments.

Besides Heineman, who is chairman of the board of Chicago & Northwestern Railroad, the President appointed 11 other prominent persons from industry, labor and government on the commission.

In discussing the commission with Democratic congressional leaders recently, the President said its purpose was to develop a guaranteed annual income plan to help poor families bring their income up to $3,000 a year, the so-called poverty level, and then promote public support for it.

When several of the Democratic leaders protested vigorously that Congress would never approve such controversial proposals at this time, the President pointed out that this was one reason why he had appointed the commission, stating:

"One of the commission's main objectives will be to sell the idea of a guaranteed annual income as one of the best ways to fight poverty and head off further racial trouble in the large cities. This won't be done overnight."

Although Democratic Senate-House leaders aren't happy about it, a test of congressional sentiment on a guaranteed annual income could come later this month in the Senate.

Sen. Harris, who is also a member of the Senate Finance Committee, is considering trying to tack a watered-down version of the guaranteed annual income proposal on the Administration's excise tax extension bill.

President Johnson's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (above) has included among its recommendations a guaranteed minimum income level for the poor. This program, according to government economists, could cost the taxpayer between $11 and $25 billion a year.

Harris has discussed such a move with the White House and Sen. Robert Kennedy (D.-N.Y.), who is preparing his own proposal which would provide that the government pay each family earning less than $3,000 enough to bring its income up to that figure.

While neither Senators Harris or Kennedy believe the Congress is ready to approve such a radical economic approach to fighting poverty, they contend privately that the time is now ripe to force the beginning of a nationwide debate on the idea.

In this political maneuver, Senators Harris and Kennedy have been promised strong backing by Dr. Martin Luther King, who hopes to use the issues to form a political coalition of poor Negroes and whites.

King has sent word to both senators that he plans to make the guaranteed annual income proposal the central issue of his coming campaign of civil disobedience in the Nation's Capital.

"This is the issue on which we can unite the majority of Negroes with poor whites," declared King. "We are going to force Congress and the American people to think some unthinkable thoughts about guaranteed incomes."

According to government economists, a full-fledged guaranteed income program would cost anywhere from $11 billion to $25 billion a year. Under such a program, all of the nation's 9.3 million families now living on less than $3,000 could have incomes boosted to that level.

In its confidential five and 10-year projections of their goals to eliminate poverty in the country, the Office of Economic Opportunity relies heavily on guaranteed incomes in some form to place a floor under certain poverty groups.

The OEO is now operating one experimental project to try out a guaranteed income proposal in several U.S. cities. Several hundred families are involved. They receive "graduated income support payments."

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Past volumes of *Human Events* on microfilm available directly from University Microfilms, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106. Reprinted bound volumes, 1960 and prior, available directly from Johnson Reprint Corp., 111 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003.

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Human Events **is published weekly by Human Events, Inc., 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. One year subscription, $12.50 (see coupon below).**

U.S. national newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 W. 15th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011

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● A highly reliable polling firm, assuming Richard Nixon will win the Republican nomination, has taken a secret survey to find out the strongest team the GOP can field against Johnson-Humphrey in 1968. The Republican ticket that wins hands down: **Nixon and Gov. Ronald Reagan of California.**

● Here's one reason the Kerner-Lindsay **riot report** came out the way it did: David Ginsburg, executive director of the commission, has been a long-time member of the left-wing Americans for Democratic Action.

● If Republicans win big next year, the Senate, long a citadel of liberalism, will take on a far more **conservative hue.** Barry Goldwater, for example, will probably replace Carl Hayden of Arizona; Rep. Ed Gurney, a down-the-line conservative, will be sitting in the chair now occupied by George Smathers; Rep. Tom Curtis, a watchdog of the public purse, will unseat big-spender Edward Long of Missouri, and former Oklahoma Gov. Henry Bellmon will have dumped the ultra-liberal Mike Monroney. California's school superintendent Max Rafferty could also give the Senate conservatives a boost if he ousts incumbent Republican Thomas Kuchel in the primary and goes on to win in the general election. (For a full Senate rundown, see page 8.)

● Among the initial sponsors of a Massachusetts memorial to the late Communist **W. E. B. DuBois:** Sen. Edward Brooke, NAACP leader Roy Wilkins and Urban League President Whitney Young. DuBois, a fiery Negro leader who actually quit the NAACP because he believed it was too timid in its approach to civil rights, lived the last years of his life in Ghana when it was ruled by pro-Communist Kwame Nkrumah.

● Former JFK speechwriter **Theodore Sorensen** spoke before the American Management Association in New York last week and came out for—guess what?—expanded trade with our Soviet enemies. Sorensen claimed it would profit the free world. A conscientious objector during the Korean War, Sorensen did not stress that East-West trade would also profit Ted Sorensen. JFK's former aide recently visited the Soviet Union on behalf of clients who want to sell lots of goodies to the Reds.

● Robert Bolivar DePugh, 44-year-old founder of the militaristic **Minuteman organization,** and his assistant Walter Patrick Peyson, have been indicted by a federal grand jury in Seattle, Wash., on charges of plotting to rob four suburban Seattle banks in January after blowing up a police station and power plant.

● The ultra-militant **Congress of Racial Equality** was awarded a $444,416 federal contract last week to run a Baltimore employment program. The contract involves the largest grant ever received by the "Black Power" group.

● Washington Post columnist Bill Gold passes along a description by one New Yorker —obviously a longtime resident—of how he handled his garbage problem during the recent **Sanitation Workers strike:** "I just wrapped it up real pretty, put it into a shopping bag, and when I parked my car I left the shopping bag on the front seat with the car window open. By the time I returned to the car, my garbage had always been 'collected.'"

● Narcotics officials report that Fidel Castro is stepping up his export of **dangerous drugs** —chiefly cocaine and heroin—into the United States. Earlier this month, a Cuban national was convicted in New York of heading a $300-million-a-year dope ring.

● Discount much of the **Newsweek poll** claiming that Nelson Rockefeller will have at least 434 delegate votes. Newsweek, for example, gives 57 of Ohio's 58 delegates to Rocky, but Nixon people will get at least 20. Former Sen. John Bricker and National Committeewoman Katherine Kennedy Brown, for example, are just two delegates who are hardly expected to be in Rocky's corner. (Rep. John Ashbrook also hopes to be on the delegation; see page 13.)

● Newsweek's **Tennessee delegate tally** is also considered haywire. Rocky gets all 28 votes, according to Newsweek's "New Math," but Tennessee Republicans laugh this off as "ridiculous." "Rockefeller," says an aide to Rep. William Brock (R.-Tenn.), "will be lucky to come up with a single vote. The Republicans are actually divided between Nixon and Reagan." Brock, who will be a delegate to Miami, has sent a sharp note to Newsweek rebutting the magazine's calculations.

● Stop the presses: Atty. Gen. **Ramsey Clark** now admits that he is "pretty well satisfied that there is an increase in crime."

● The most recent Gallup Poll reports that 63 per cent of the American public now believe courts do not deal "**harshly enough**" **with criminals.** Three years ago only 48 per cent of those polled expressed this belief. And 19 per cent in the 1968 poll felt the courts treated criminals "about right," whereas in 1965 some 34 per cent held this opinion. The number of persons thinking courts were "too harsh" on criminals has remained the same—2 per cent.

● Barry Goldwater drew the biggest laugh of the night at last week's Republican gala in Washington with this comment about the **Johnson-Humphrey team:** "We sometimes know them as the Bonnie and Clyde of good government."

● Wyoming Gov. Stan Hathaway reveals that his state has been "blackjacked" by the **Office of Economic Opportunity** into accepting a $78,000 Neighborhood Youth project in Laramie County. OEO bluntly threatened to close down two other projects in the area unless the state approved the new venture. Only $3,000 of the $78,000 will actually be spent on deprived youths. The other $75,000 will go for "overhead" and administrative expenses.

● Foreign aid boss William Gaud admitted last week that **waste and mismanagement** plague his agency. In a cable to mission heads in some 60 nations, Gaud said: "I am sick and tired—and I trust you are—of reading reports by visiting inspectors of warehouses, equipment yards and docks containing idle or misplaced aid-financed supplies and equipment, or aid-built schools without teachers, hospitals without electricity, etc. The recurrent question is: How can visitors find these situations and recommend ways of curing them if our own auditors, in-house inspectors and mission managers are doing their jobs?"

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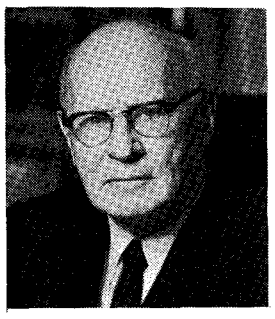
Celler's Seat Threatened

A number of important politicos in the Nation's Capitol are keeping their fingers crossed, but this year they hope to see the political demise of Emanuel Celler, the powerful New York Democrat who has held great sway over the country and his colleagues for 20 years through his chairmanship on the House Judiciary Committee and its subcommittee on Anti-Trust and Monopoly.



CELLER

The aging Brooklyn Democrat, who has made his political presence felt since he was elected to the House in 1923, is said to be "sweating it out" because of the recent passage of a redistricting bill by New York's Republican-controlled legislature, a measure which still has to be ratified by the courts.

As a result of the redistricting move, both Representatives Edna Kelly and Celler will probably clash in the Democratic primary to see who represents the newly created 10th district.

While some newspapers are suggesting that Celler should win handily, New York political observers think that Mrs. Kelly has more than a fighting chance of upsetting the House Judiciary chairman. Not only is a major portion of her present district in the new 10th, but Mrs. Kelly previously represented portions of other areas that have been incorporated in the new district.

Observers say that many voters are bound to favor Mrs. Kelly rather than Celler. Though also a liberal on domestic matters, including civil rights, Mrs. Kelly is 18 years younger than the House Judiciary chairman. She takes a far harder line in foreign policy, consistently having voted to reduce trade with Communist countries. A big supporter of the late Vietnamese leader Ngo Dinh Diem, Mrs. Kelly has a daughter who once worked on the staff of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Conservatives who oppose much of Mrs. Kelly's domestic views on spending are nevertheless rooting for her because she would knock Celler out of a key spot in the House and propel the more moderate Michael Feighan to ranking Democrat on Judiciary.

Now 80 years old, Celler has built up many enemies as a result of his tyrannical hold over Judiciary, whose chairmanship he assumed in 1949. He has bottled up much-needed legislation, including measures to restore voluntary prayer in the public schools and bills to re-invigorate our internal security laws. One former congressional aide who has been intimately involved with the workings of the Judiciary says that "Celler blocked anything he could that pertained to security matters; he also introduced immigration bills that would have broken down many of the barriers against infiltration of foreign Communists into this country."

It is no accident that almost all security legislation has to either originate with the Senate Judiciary Committee or the House Committee on Un-American Activities. And whatever does come before the House Judiciary is usually neatly sliced up by "Manny" and his fellow liberals.

Celler has quite an extensive record of serving left-wing causes. In the 1940s and early '50s he was associated with numerous Communist-front organizations, including the American Youth for Democracy and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. In the 1950s Celler spoke under left-wing auspices to repeal the Smith Act—a major piece of legislation responsible for the jailing of America's top Communists in the 1950s.

Celler has also come under fire for abusing his powerful positions. As chairman of the House Judiciary, he vainly tried to use his influence with Federal Judge Charles E. Wyzanski Jr., at a time when U.S. Rep. Thomas J. Lane of Lawrence, Mass., was due to come before Judge Wyzanski for sentencing for income tax evasion.

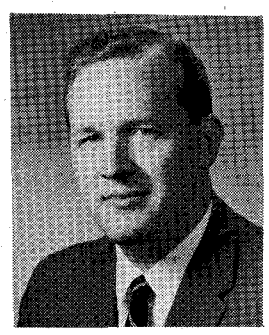
The 1964 *Congressional Quarterly* reveals how Celler's law firm in New York shared a $10,000 legal fee with Bobby Baker in 1961 as a result of a controversial federal contract. Members of Celler's own Judiciary Committee have also charged him with using his influence to gain clients for his New York law firm.

For a long time many New Yorkers have wanted to get rid of Celler's ultra-liberal influence in Congress. This year they will probably get a real chance to do something about it.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

Cultural Boondoggle Curbed

Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) has struck the first big blow for economy in the second session of the 90th Congress. The Administration had been supporting a House bill authorizing $135 million for the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, a federal agency that pours out its heart and the taxpayers' funds for the Greenwich Village set and other artsy-craftsy folk. But the Ohio lawmaker managed to foil Administration forces by getting the House to adopt an amendment cutting a whopping $123.8 million from the authorization bill.



ASHBROOK

The Ashbrook amendment was finally accepted by a 261-to-130 rollcall vote (see page 15), with a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats fervently supporting the move.

Big-spending Democrats like Representatives Emanuel Celler (N.Y.), John Conyers (Mich.) and Frank Thompson (N.J.), floor manager of the bill, and super-spending Republicans like Representatives Alphonzo Bell (Calif.), John Dellenback (Ore.) and Ogden Reid (N.Y.), opposed the dramatic cuts.

Reaction against this spending scheme in time of a full-scale war and a fantastic balance-of-payments deficit was especially strong from the GOP side of the aisle.

Rep. John Anderson (R.-Ill.) said he could not understand why the House was even considering this huge authorization with the crises facing us abroad and in the cities.

Rep. H. R. Gross pasted Rep. Thompson and his supporters on the Education and Labor Committee for doubling the spending authority requested by LBJ. Bluntly condemning the bill as "twaddle," Gross sarcastically said if the $135 million were voted he would send a cable "to the Marines" at Khe Sanh telling them "what wonderful progress is being made here at home. . . ."

Revealing some of the intriguing operations of government bureaucrats, Gross related that Charles Mark, an assistant to chief "Pooh-Bah" Roger Stevens at the foundation, had actually drummed up a publicity campaign to compel the Congress to hand over sizable sums to support the "arts."

For example, last June Mark told an assembled conference of major orchestra managers and musicians in Los Angeles that the foundation wanted $150 million and suggested the conferees get known artists to come back to Washington to testify on the necessity for lavish federal subsidies.

"Incidentally," said Gross, "this individual apparently is being paid out of taxpayer funds to roam the country lobbying in behalf of more funds for this organization. I wonder if he is not in violation of the law which precludes government employes from lobbying in this fashion?"

William Scherle (R.-Iowa), one of the outstanding freshman congressmen, opposed the bill on the grounds of "simple economics."

Scherle said the nation's "economic situation has not reached such glorious heights" that the foundation can afford to subsidize box office "flops," which it is doing to the tune of $200,000. And why, Scherle wanted to know, was it vital for the foundation to spend $10,000 "to have some official in Rhode Island 'rethink' public road signs" when even spokesmen for the Federal Highway Administration think it's nonsense?

The Stevens group, Scherle also pointed out, has approved a $10,000 grant for "completion of a long poem"; handed out $10,000 so one person could "travel to the West Coast and do research on a projected novel about life in Hollywood"; granted $500,000 for the purpose of constructing low-rent housing projects for artists in New York, etc.

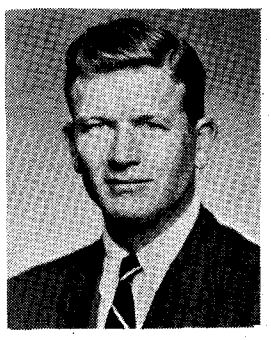
Rep. Gross supplemented Scherle's list of cultural boondoggles by revealing that foundation fellowships ranging from $8,500 a year to $13,000 per year "will permit research into such 'vital' areas as 'Medieval Spanish Satire and Invective.'"

A number of lawmakers pointed out that it was not as if the arts were about to die without federal funds. Of the 23,000 foundations in the United States, 1,000 have shown a significant interest in the arts. And many artists, of course, receive fat salaries in the business world.

Persuaded that some pruning was necessary and that there were certainly higher priorities in these troubled times, the overwhelming majority of House members voted for the Ashbrook amendment. But 130 congressmen decided to throw caution—and the taxpayers' dollars—to the winds. How did your congressman vote?

Lindsay Condones Extremists

New York Mayor John Lindsay, co-chairman of the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, may be a major reason why the commission's amazing riot report virtually exonerates Communists, black revolutionaries and other assorted radicals for their part in fanning and provoking the summer convulsions that seem to be annually sweeping our cities.



LINDSAY

Lindsay, it is all but forgotten, has long had a tender feeling for left-wing extremists. It was "Destiny's Tot" who condemned the probe of the federally subsidized Mobilization for Youth group, a sort of pilot anti-poverty project, even though both the FBI and a prestigious New York Senate committee uncovered the fact that Communists and extremists were dominating MFY and were instrumental in stirring civil disorders. As a member of the House, Lindsay was in the front lines of those who wanted to abolish the subversive-probing House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA).

Since he's been mayor he's larded city positions

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with left-wing radicals, some of them even prone to violence. He felt no qualms about appointing as executive assistant to the city's chief legal officer Norman Redlich, despite Redlich's affiliation with radical causes. Redlich has been a member of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, even though it has been cited as a Communist front. He was raising funds for it as late as 1964. He signed a petition asking the late President Kennedy to extend clemency to identified Communist Frank Wilkinson; he has signed a petition calling for the abolition of HCUA; and in 1962 Redlich lent his name to a statement asking HCUA to halt a probe of the Red-infiltrated Women Strike for Peace organization. Nevertheless, Redlich has won Lindsay's confidence.

Gilberto Gerena-Valentin, listed as head of Puerto Rican Affairs on Lindsay's Commission on Human Rights, is also a supporter of many leftist causes. A leader in demonstrations against the war in Viet Nam, Gerena-Valentin was listed as a scheduled speaker at a protest rally against the Justice Department's action to force the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America to register as a Communist front. Gerena-Valentin was bounced in 1951 from Local 6 of the Hotel and Club Employes because, the union charges against him state, he "gave support to and subscribed to the subversive policies of the Communist party. . . ." During the days of union hearings, noted the *Hotel and Club Voice*, official publication of the union, "none of the defendants made any attempt to deny evidence piled up against them. . . ."

Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.) bared another amazing example of Lindsay's softness toward radical elements late last year. Fino revealed that New York City's Neighborhood Youth Corps, employing 40,000 young New Yorkers at $1.50 an hour, was being headed by Robert Schrank. "During the late 1940s," said Fino, "he was an official of the International Association of Machinists, but he was expelled for parroting the Communist line. . . . In 1952, according to the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. Schrank was the chairman of a conference held in New York City to repeal the Smith Act [under which Communists had been indicted]. He was then employed as an international representative of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union which had been expelled by the AFL-CIO in 1950 as a Communist-dominated front.

"By this time it was apparent that Mr. Schrank was a hard-core Communist sympathizer. . . . He stayed with the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers until 1955. . . . Later in 1962 Mr. Schrank was listed among those former officials of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union who were shown to have been members of the Communist party. He was so cited by the Federal Subversive Activities Control Board in 1962. . . ." Fino found it "incredible" that someone with such a background could have been picked to run New York City's youth program, but Lindsay didn't seem to mind.

But Mr. Lindsay's tolerance for leftists doesn't end there. Earlier this year the New York Daily News uncovered the fact that Lindsay's Parks Department had plans to hire Robert Steele Collier, a black revolutionary convicted in 1965 of plotting to blow up the Statue of Liberty, the Washington Monument and the Liberty Bell in Independence Hall.

Collier, who spent 21 months in federal prison after his bomb-plot conviction, was to be paid $5,750 a year as recreation director in Tompkins Square Park. A Parks spokesman had said he was qualified for the job because "he speaks the language of the hippies" and school dropouts who inhabit the area.

Collier was canned when the *News* broke the story, but he has since been permitted to return to work. The city, however, does not pay Collier's salary. It is paid by an anonymous donor who bestowed a "gift" on the city for the specific purpose of paying Collier. City officials accepted the gift and put Collier back on the job of supervising teen-age dropouts.

Such is John Lindsay's amazing toleration of far-out radicals. And such an attitude goes a long way toward explaining why the Kerner-Lindsay report failed to point an accusing finger at the left-wing extremists involved in America's summer riots.

Howe's Hypocrisy

Commissioner of Education Harold Howe, sanctimonious foe of school bias, last summer spent $250,000 in federal funds to sponsor a series of conferences at a posh private school that practices racial and religious discrimination.

HOWE

A House subcommittee headed by Rep. L. H. Fountain (D.-N.C.) has concluded closed-door hearings and will shortly issue a blistering report on Howe's double standard.

The conference, held July 2-22 at the Kamahameha Schools outside Honolulu, was attended by 70 Office of Education experts and numerous federal grantees. Shortly before the conference was held, Howe was informed by the Fountain subcommittee that the school hires only "persons of Protestant religion" for its faculty. Moreover, the school had been criticized for admitting only students with Hawaiian blood, thus discriminating against whites and Negroes.

Howe ignored the subcommittee warning. After the conference he was called for testimony and asked if his office had not known that the schools practiced discrimination. "The only complaint I know of came from you," he told the subcommittee.

But Howe's own records show that more than a year earlier his office had received just such a complaint from the Justice Department. It had been forwarded by Assistant Atty. Gen. John Doar.

Peacenik Political Fund

A radical-left peace group is cynically attempting to obscure the massive aid it will supply two dovish senators up for re-election, George McGovern (D.-S.D.) and Gaylord Nelson (D.-Wis.).

The Washington-based Council for a Livable World is now canvassing leftist fat cats in behalf of the two solons. A mass mailing signed by council president Bernard Feld notes that both Nelson and McGovern have been vociferous opponents of U.S. involvement in Viet Nam and have fought construction of an anti-missile defense system.

Donors are asked to contribute 2 per cent of their annual income for the November election. Interestingly, however, the wealthy radicals are told:

"Please do *not* make campaign contributions for either senator payable to the council. They should be made out either to 'Sen. George McGovern' or 'Nelson for Senate Committee' as indicated on the enclosed form. We will forward your checks to the candidates."

This is done so that the council itself does not have to file revealingly complete congressional reports on campaign expenditures, as required by law. Thus, while the council may funnel literally hundreds of thousands of dollars into the Nelson and McGovern campaigns, there will be no way for the press—or the public—to know.

It is understandable that Nelson and McGovern would be embarrassed by coverage of the council largess. The group is a radical outfit that advocates unilateral steps toward disarmament, a Viet Nam pull-out, recognition of Red China and repeal of all restrictions on trade with the enemy.

Demo Favoritism

House and Senate Republicans have developed a driving curiosity about a $410,000 federal loan to a prominent Texas land developer with good Democratic party ties. Granted by the U.S. Economic Development Administration (EDA), the loan went to developer Robert H. Flato and his partners so they could expand their luxury 11-story motel in Corpus Christi, Tex.

Flato, it turns out, used to be a campaign worker for Rep. John Young (D.-Tex.) and is associated in a realty business in Corpus Christi with Young's top campaign executive, Lew Borden.

Young told Robert L. Jackson of the Los Angeles *Times* that he could not recall whether he had interceded on Flato's behalf, but those connected with the loan insist the project was all on the up-and-up. But here's why some lawmakers are questioning this peculiar deal:

- The nearly half-million-dollar loan was granted in a resort area where other motel owners insist there was generally no shortage of motel rooms.
- It was the only hotel or motel loan among 535 projects financed by EDA in the fiscal year ended last June 30.
- There are six other hotels or motels within a mile radius, the newest of which was finished eight months before Flato's Sheraton Marina Inn, Inc. Two are in the same luxury class and larger.
- The low-interest government loan enabled the Sheraton Marina to pay off a high-interest, short-term commercial mortgage that it had taken out two months earlier.

New Left 'Anti Draft' Pamphlet

Radical leftists operating from Canadian sanctuary have drawn up elaborate plans for the sabotage and destruction of the U.S. Selective Service System, it was reported last week.

In a copyrighted story, the New York *Daily News* disclosed that a 12-page "blueprint" had been distributed to 327 anti-Viet Nam groups from coast to coast. The mimeographed leaflet contains detailed instructions on the manufacture of time bombs, Molotov cocktails and other incendiary devices to be used against draft boards and their members.

Human Events has learned that the pamphlet was prepared by American leftists who have fled to Canada to avoid military service. There are an estimated 2,000 New Left draft dodgers now living in Canadian exile.

The pamphlet rejects the idea of non-violent anti-war protests. Instead, it calls for "sabotage" of Selective Service offices, harassment of draft board members and other terrorist techniques.

"The success of such a program, which really *can* obstruct the Selective Service," the pamphlet says, "depends on total secrecy and total decentralization. At most a bare handful of people in a city here or in a community there should be aware of the actions of others in the same city or community."

Garrison's 'Baseless Fraud'

The former chief investigator in the New Orleans assassination "plot" testified last week that District Attorney Jim Garrison's conspiracy theory is a "baseless fraud."

William H. Gurvich, who worked with Garrison for seven months in probing the Kennedy assassination, swore that the entire "plot" was a figment of the D.A.'s imagination. He testified in an Ohio extradiction hearing in which Garrison sought the return for testimony of Gordon Novel, a former New Orleans resident. Gurvich also said that:

- Garrison once predicted the assassination probe would end with the suicide of his chief defendant, Clay Shaw, who is charged with conspiracy.
- Another defendant, Edgar Eugene Bradley, has been confused by Garrison with a second Edgar Bradley, an anti-Castro pilot. But Gurvich said investigation indicated that neither Bradley played any part in the assassination.
- Garrison once ordered Gurvich to arrest, handcuff and assault two NBC newsmen, Walter Sheridan and Richard Townley, who had expressed skepticism of the Garrison probe.

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POLITICS '68

NIXON

Former Vice President Richard Nixon has been the first prominent presidential possibility to take a sock at the **Kerner-Lindsay riot report,** a move that has substantially helped him with Republican conservatives.

NIXON

The commission, noted Nixon in New Hampshire last week, "in effect blames everybody for the riots except the perpetrators." "I believe," he continued, "we've got to make it very clear to potential rioters that in the event something starts next summer the law will move in with **adequate force** to put down rioting [and] looting at the first indication of it."

Nixon also chided the commission for putting "undue emphasis on the idea that we are in effect a **racist society**" and for leaning "too much on **federal programs**, housing and jobs" as remedies for urban disorder. (Morrie Ryskind comments on the riot report on page 7.)

ROCKEFELLER

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's chances of getting the GOP nomination have not at all been aided by Barry Goldwater's blast at him, but Rocky and his supporters are still in there pitching. Aside from hoping to pull a sizable number of write-in votes in various primaries, Rocky suggested in New York last week that he was on the verge of entering the May 28 Oregon primary. Politicos, however, believe this one-shot approach won't work and that the only way Rocky can really prove himself is to meet Nixon head-on in various primaries, not just in one state that might happen to favor the governor.

Nixon supporters in Oregon question whether the campaign there to draft Rocky is **"a genuine grass-roots movement."** Howell Appling Jr., ex-secretary of state in Oregon and now state chairman of the Nixon effort, has revealed that he was told by a Willamette University professor that 33 students at the school are being paid up to **$300 a month** to collect petition signatures to put Rockefeller's name on the ballot. Appling did not question the legality of such a move, but said, "It raises the question as to whether in fact it is a genuine grass-roots movement if it requires the hiring, as reported, of professionals, so to speak, to get signatures."

• Just prior to the New Hampshire primary last week, it was disclosed that the Granite States's former Gov. Hugh Gregg had mailed **225,000 postcards** to his state's voters, urging a write-in vote for Rocky. Gregg said his aim was to deny Nixon a clear-cut victory in the first Republican primary.

GOP PROSPECTS

Republican party loyalists beamed with joy when they perused a March 5 Wall Street Journal projection of "substantial gains" for the GOP in both houses of Congress come November. After polling the top professional strategists in both parties, the newspaper came up with the conclusion that with a strong Republican presidential race, even if LBJ wins by a narrow margin, the GOP could gain **control of the House** and increase its Senate bloc by as many as 12.

"More and more I get the feeling it will be **1952 all over again,**" effused House Republican powerbroker Rep. Melvin Laird. A Democratic counterpart observed that he sees "very little to cheer about."

In the Senate, the Journal reports that pros of both parties see the GOP picking up at least five or six seats to add to its present contingent of 36 (the GOP cannot possibly gain control of the Senate in '68, but could in '70). Republican hopes are buoyed by the fact that, out of the 11 seats the party has up for grabs in '68, only two are considered to be in clear danger, those of retiring Senators Bourke Hickenlooper of Iowa and Thruston Morton of Kentucky. (See page 8 for a state-by-state rundown on all the Senate races.)

Republican **House prospects** are, if anything, even brighter, with majority control a definite possibility for the 91st Congress. Factors aiding the GOP cause in the lower house include congressional redistricting, retiring Democratic incumbents in Republican-leaning districts, a plethora of appealing issues and whoppingly successful fund-raising.

Two $500-a-plate dinners this year are expected to add up to **$1.5 million** to the campaign war chests of the House and Senate GOP congressional campaign committees. Additional funds are rolling in from alert businessmen who sense a Republican victory and extra-party political action groups are also revving up the dollar machine. Republican candidates running against Democratic incumbents are assisted by donations from the party's Boosters Club, which has already sold so many of its $1,000 memberships that it has topped its $1.250-million quota for the '68 campaign.

And many **Democratic incumbents** are in trouble. Redistricting has hurt the Democrats in Indiana (where they may lose three of their current five seats), North Carolina, Oklahoma, Massachusetts and New Jersey. Redistricting and the retirement of some Democrats could add three new GOP seats in Florida.

In contrast, few **Republican incumbents**, including those first elected in 1966, are in serious trouble this year. The freshmen—many of them strong conservatives—have struggled diligently to entrench themselves in the past two years and now, the Journal reports, even Democratic strategists concede that "only a handful" of the newcomers are in any danger.

• One reason top GOP strategists are putting extra efforts into House races this year is the prospect that George Wallace's **third-party candidacy** may throw the election of a chief executive to the House of Representatives. If no presidential candidate gets a simple majority of the votes in the Electoral College, the House must then vote, with each state delegation casting one ballot. As of now, Democrats control 29 delegations, Republicans only 18, with three evenly divided. GOP pros are therefore stressing the necessity of winning Republican control of at least eight more congressional delegations. In seven states this could be done by switching one seat from Democrat to Republican, in 12 others it would require switching two seats.

REAGAN

Ronald Reagan denies he's a candidate for President, but activities by his supporters and even by the California governor, himself, suggest there is at least a **quiet campaign** to have him favorably positioned for a place on the GOP ticket. Consider the following:

REAGAN

• Reagan has begun to step up his granting of **news interviews** with members of the press. Both the Chicago Tribune and the New York Times carried front-page interviews with the governor just last week.

• **F. Clifton White**, who engineered the Goldwater nomination in 1964, has been hired by the governor's supporters for unusual political duties. White's ostensible job is to take political soundings across the nation and report to the California GOP on what Republicans in other states are up to and to advise Reagan on what action he should take if he decides to abdicate his favorite-son stance at the August convention. But White's extensive operations are unique for just a "favorite-son" candidacy.

• **Tom Reed**, a former campaign aide and staff assistant to the California governor, is now described as the "buffer" between Reagan and those admirers who envision him in the White House. More precisely, reports the Baltimore Sun, Reed has planned all of Reagan's out-of-state speaking appearances and now is the link between Sacramento and Reagan supporters around the country.

• **Henry Bubb**, a Topeka bank executive and close friend of the Reagan administration, began by putting together a Kansas Reagan organization, but moved into other Southwest states when this was completed. Bubb has also established a "Reagan information center" to distribute stock campaign material and has collected film footage of Reagan TV appearances. Moreover, says the Sun, there is evidence Bubb is acting as a financial conduit between Reagan's grass-roots backers and organized efforts on the Californian's behalf.

• Oregon resident **Fred Van Natta** is reportedly behind the Reagan campaign in that state's May 28 primary, the last pre-convention race in which all major GOP candidates will probably be entered as a matter of course. Portland sources say that Reagan supporters have inquired into purchasing two $50,000 television spots in late April and early May, and Van Natta, who backed Pennsylvania Gov. William Scranton's abortive presidential bid in '64, is suspected to be behind the television preparations. Also suspected: that funds for the Oregon Reagan effort are coming via Bubb in Topeka.

• Word has reached Human Events that the national **Students for Reagan**, organized last summer by the conservative Young Americans for Freedom, may soon abandon its post-office-box-only operations and open a full-time office in Washington. Developments are expected shortly.

McCARTHY

Anti-Viet Nam presidential challenger Eugene McCarthy appeared to have been given the biggest break of his insurgent campaign last week when the White House decided not to run a stand-in for LBJ in Massachusetts' April 30 primary. Barring an unlikely write-in campaign for the President, the 72 delegates to the Democratic convention from the Bay State will by law go to McCarthy.

McCARTHY

The President's action in virtually conceding Massachusetts' 72 convention votes to McCarthy prompted immediate response and threatened to split state Democrats. House Speaker John McCormack, his politically active nephew Ed McCormack and Cabinet member O'Brien all said they were quitting the delegate slate rather than be forced to cast their first ballot votes for McCarthy.

One who did not drop off the delegation was Sen. Edward Kennedy, brother of you-know-who. Kennedy's office explained he was remaining because of "matters to be considered at the convention, including the party platform." Another who did not quit was State Democratic Chairman Lester Hyman, who argued he thought such action would be "premature."

• Another state in which Eugene McCarthy has done better than expected is his home territory of Minnesota, which also happens to be the home of the vice president. Last week **Minnesota Democrats** voted in precinct caucuses for delegates who will determine the composition of the state's delegation to the Democratic Convention. First returns showed McCarthy backers capturing enough support to assure the anti-Viet Nam presidential candidate at least 16 of Minnesota's 62 convention delegates; McCarthy's aides were saying the total could go as high as 26. Before the precinct caucuses, pro-LBJ forces had predicted McCarthy would win no more than six delegates.

• McCarthy has also received a boost of sorts in Wisconsin, but there it has been a result of George Romney's early retirement from the Republican presidential contest. As an unintentional benefactor of the Romney action, McCarthy is now seen making an impressive showing in Wisconsin's April 12 primary, which will find the Minnesota liberal and LBJ face to face on the ballot for the first time.

• By gathering their signatures first, Sen. **McCarthy's campaign team in California** has made it all but certain that the Minnesotan's name will appear on the June 4 ballot above a slate of party regulars backing LBJ and his Viet Nam war policy.

CAPSULES

• In the April 2 Wisconsin presidential primary, voters in the state capital of Madison will be able to express their feelings on the **Viet Nam war.** A referendum was added to the ballot after 9,400 voters, nearly 20 per cent of those on the city's rolls, signed a petition. The referendum calls for immediate ceasefire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Viet Nam.

• New York State's fledgling, but powerful, **Conservative party** won a major concession from Republican organization forces when Mason L. Hampton Jr. was all but assured the GOP nomination as 5th Congressional District candidate. The district's GOP chairman, previously considered a moderate-to-liberal, has already given his backing to Hampton, who was the Conservative party's candidate for state attorney general in 1966.

• In an apparent attempt to line up conservative support for his expected Senate bid, Los Angeles Mayor **Sam Yorty** has taken to praising the policies of 1964 GOP presidential candidate Barry Goldwater. If Goldwater had been elected, Yorty said at a recent press conference, the Viet Nam war would be over; he then called on LBJ to "take the gloves off" and go for a military victory in Viet Nam. Democrat Yorty is expected to announce his candidacy against incumbent Republican Sen. Tom Kuchel within two weeks.

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Congress to Hold Hearings On French Debt Crackdown

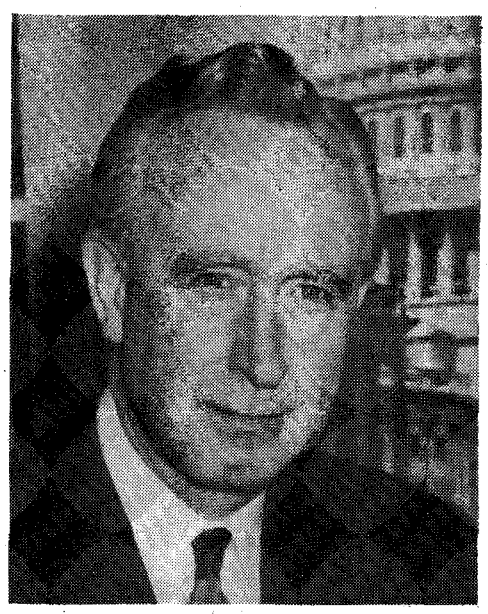
By ROBERT S. ALLEN

France's 35-year-long default on around $7 billion in World War I debts is finally going to get high-powered congressional attention.

The powerful House Ways and Means Committee will shortly hold hearings on the matter.

Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.), chairman, has given this assurance to Rep. Vernon Thomson (R.-Wis.), sponsor of a resolution calling for forceful action to require payment of the long-overdue obligation. Thomson initially introduced his resolution in June 1966.

Recently, the former Wisconsin governor wrote Mills vigorously urging consideration of the proposal. It was in response to this that Mills informed



Rep. Vernon Thomson (R.-Wis.) notes that while France has stuck the U.S. taxpayer for at least $7.5 billion since World War II, she refuses to settle her World War I debt.

Thomson he has decided to hold hearings preparatory to bringing the issue before the full House for a record vote.

Mills' decision is a notable victory for Thomson and a far-reaching breakthrough on this long-pending question.

In the past several years, as President de Gaulle has displayed increasing enmity toward the U.S., demand has intensified in and out of Congress that stern measures be taken to compel payment of the huge World War I debts. This has been persistently opposed by the State Department.

Now on the basis of Mills' word to Thomson, the influential Ways and Means chairman is set to disregard the State Department and press for a crackdown on France.

"This is extremely gratifying," said Thomson, "and long overdue. It is certain to be widely acclaimed by members of the House and the public at large. I have told Chairman Mills I will testify at the hearings in full confidence that both his committee and the House as a whole will overwhelmingly approve a resolution calling for prompt and forceful action to secure payment of this long-defaulted French debt."

Crux of Rep. Thomson's joint resolution is as follows:

"That it is the sense of Congress that the President should take such steps as may be necessary to require the Republic of France to make full and prompt settlement with respect to past due amounts (including principal and interest) of its World War I indebtedness to the United States. It is further the sense of Congress that the President should take such additional steps as may be necessary to assure that the Republic of France will make full and timely settlement of future installments due with respect to such indebtedness."

In his letter to Mills urging action, Thomson stressed two points: That the U.S. gave France more than $7 billion in economic and military aid following World War II; in recent years France has "raided" the U.S. gold reserve of more than $2.5 billion.

"France has grown rich and prosperous from the stimulus of $7.472 billion in U.S. economic and military aid since 1946," Thomson pointed out. "Meanwhile, she refuses to make payments on her delinquent principal and interest owing this country from World War I.

"Since 1963 France has withdrawn more than $2.5 billion in gold, and that policy continues unabated. To save American taxpayers the onerous burden of more grievous taxes, the time has come to collect from de Gaulle, who has embarked upon a deliberate program to destroy our gold reserves and undermine the value of our dollar. As you know, I have been joined by many others who are now clamoring for action on my resolution."

In response to this letter Leo Irwin, chief counsel of the committee, advised Thomson, "The staff has been instructed to request appropriate departmental reports [from the Treasury and State Departments] on your resolution."

It is a foregone conclusion the House will overwhelmingly approve a crackdown on de Gaulle on the World War I debt issue.

Not only is the haughty French ruler widely unpopular in the chamber, but the fact that this is an election year also will play a decisive role in ensuring a massive favorable vote.

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YRs Hold School

More than 500 Young Republican leaders from around the nation gathered recently in Washington's Sheraton-Park Hotel for the annual Leadership Training School (LTS), a function designed to acquaint young GOP politicos with the "nuts and bolts" of party organization.

Among the speakers were Senators John Tower (Tex.), Peter Dominick (Colo.), Mark Hatfield (Ore.) and Charles Percy (Ill.). Governors who spoke included Arizona's Jack Williams, Nevada's Paul Laxalt and Arkansas' Winthrop Rockefeller.

One of the best received speakers was Sen. George Murphy of California, who called for a victory in Viet Nam, deplored the state of domestic affairs and dwelt at length on the climate of immorality that hangs over this Administration.

The conservative bent of the YRs was clearly shown by a profusion of Nixon and Reagan sentiment; in a presidential preference poll the former vice president swamped all other contenders by a 2-to-1 margin (Reagan was the second choice). Reagan, moreover, topped the field as the ideal vice presidential candidate. As is generally true with the YRs, support for liberal Republicans such as Rockefeller and Percy was slim.

LTS also provided a little insight into what conservatives call press bias: Over 20 reporters showed up for speeches by liberals Percy and Hatfield, but only a handful came to hear conservatives Murphy, Tower or Dominick. A little lesson in how news is made.

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Does Riot Report Mean Rap Brown Is Right?

By MORRIE RYSKIND

With the issuance of the report of the Presidential Commission on Civil Disorders, the Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner* asked both Louis Lomax and me to comment on the findings. And if the paper expected our opinions to clash, it was not disappointed.

Mr. Lomax, a Negro liberal long active in the civil rights movement, fervently embraced the report as long overdue and hailed its recommendations as "the Republic's last opportunity to deal sanely with its racial difficulties."

On the other hand, I, as a fiscal conservative, voted thumbs down on a plan so unrealistic that it would bankrupt the nation and that the ensuing chaos "would create the very civil disorders and apartheid it [the commission] was instituted to prevent."

On only one aspect did we see even minutely eye to eye. But the reader could not have known that, since the last part of my piece was cut—not from malice, but with the laudable attempt to furnish us equal space.

The fault was mine in being so verbose. But—you know writers—I felt the elision of my coda left my piece hanging in mid-air. Therefore I take this opportunity to restore the deleted lines.

Thus Mr. Lomax on the point in question: "What is new is that such a panel would use the kind of strident rhetoric that gallops through the pages of the document. Had Rap Brown said

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. displays the poster to be used in his "Poor People's Campaign" this summer. Columnist Ryskind notes, however, that the gains made by the Negro people have for the most part been by hard work and not demonstrations.

our police are guilty of the deeds charged in the report, there would have been a shrill clamor that he be hanged, and had Stokely Carmichael suggested that racism is as American as apple pie there would have been demands that his passport be lifted."

On that paragraph I agree with Mr. Lomax, though we are poles apart about its significance. So—for the record—here are my full comments on that very theme. After pointing out that every one of our other minority groups had had to face the hurdles of prejudice, I went on to say:

"Yet today their sons and daughters . . . are part of the mainstream. The Horatio Alger tradition is not confined, as some cynics say, to a few—it is the tradition, indeed, of almost every American family. And it was accomplished by work, not by riots.

"The Negro, it is true, faced the additional handicap of the color line. Yet his progress in the last 50 years is an epic of success seldom equaled.

"Jackie Robinson, of all people, should be the last to call this a racist country. Sen. Brooke was elected to office in a state with very few Negroes. He proved he was qualified—and that was the test.

"And that is not mere tokenism. In Los Angeles both our postmaster and our fire chief are colored. Under Nazi rule Dick Gregory would not be able to make $5,000 a week, nor would Sammy Davis and all the legion of other famous colored entertainers be able to show their wares. The colored athletes, too numerous to mention, the congressmen, judges, architects, lawyers, writers like Louis Lomax and the rest, would all have gone, along with the Jews, to the incinerator.

"If I mention only the famous, remember that not all whites are famous, either. But there are millions of Negroes who own their own homes and their cars and the other appurtenances of the affluent life—and they earned them the hard way.

"But what the commission, in effect, is saying to young Negroes is that these sturdy and valuable citizens are wrong—and Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown are essentially right.

"That would be bad enough, but the timing makes it even worse. What a picnic the Communist convention in Budapest will make of those charges, which come not from *Pravda* nor the *Worker*, but from a presidential commission! I can see Hanoi Hannah licking her lips as she broadcasts the report to our troops.

"I think our fathers and forefathers, whose industry brought us the highest living standard in the world, proved there was a far better way of getting roast pig than burning down the house. And with all deference to the savants who issued the report, their way is retrogression, not advance. One solid vote for the traditional American way."

(Copyright 1968, Washington Star Syndicate)

Victory for Soviet Talk

Why No More Airborne Alert?

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

You would rightly be alarmed to read a headline "Three of Our H-Bombers Are Missing by Enemy Action." This is exactly what happened—the Soviet Union has finally succeeded in "talking down," not shooting down our Strategic Air Command's airborne alert out of the sky.

The Soviet effort began two years ago when an SAC bomber lost four H-bombs off the coast of Spain, and the effort intensified in February when SAC lost four more when a B-52 crashed in Greenland. For SAC these were embarrassing accidents, and for the Kremlin they were propaganda opportunities. The Russian government, joined by the pacifist and anti-American press, set up a howl for the grounding of our H-bomb planes, not more than three of which are customarily aloft.

Two points are pertinent here: national sovereignty and national security. On the first, the American citizen will want to ask, "Who decides the foreign policy of the U.S.A.?" Unfortunately, there has been much doubt for many years whether the President and secretary of state are still our ultimate policy-makers. The plethora of 40-odd entangling alliances has taken a lot of initiative away from the White House and State Department.

It is now acknowledged history that the British objection to broadening the Korean conflict caused President Truman to play for stalemate instead of victory. The largest entanglement of all, our membership in the United Nations, has thwarted actions that might have been taken on our own initiative.

A nation's sovereignty is on the road to erosion when friendly outsiders call the tune, and for a hostile outsider to do so is nothing short of a *sotto voce* ultimatum. Whose bombers are these B-52s, anyhow? Shall we heed the Russian protests or our own will? Right or wrong, we cannot give up the command of our air-fleets without giving up much else.

Beyond that, the American public needs to know how much reliance we place in the airborne alert. Is national security protected by keeping H-armed planes in flight? As recently as January 22 the Defense Department placed great reliance in the airborne alert, and regarded it as integral to the safety of the nation. That was the date of Defense Secretary McNamara's seventh and final annual report to the Senate Armed Services Committee.

In this 213-page statement, he reiterated in depth his thesis that the U.S.A. was defensible in nuclear war only by his so-named deterrence of Assured Destruction.

We must maintain, he said, a mixed striking force of missiles and manned bombers which could utterly shatter the Soviet Union even after this country had received the first nuclear strike. Underground missiles and possibly underwater missiles in submarines might be destroyed, but planes in the air would remain invulnerable—the one sure deterrence. Also, an airborne plane is the one H-bomb carrier that can be recalled in flight in event of a false alarm.

The Johnson Administration has in hand some technological rationalizations as to why the airborne alert could be safely cancelled. But, in fact, our leaders are listening to the Russian leaders. And, in effect, we are close to performing another phase of disarmament in order to placate a mortal enemy.

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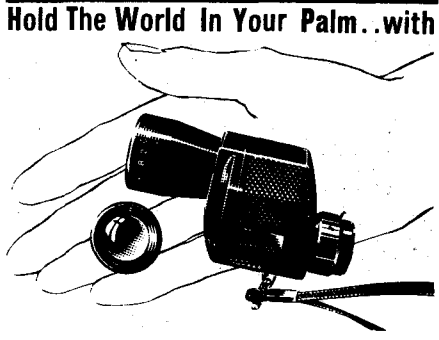

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To acquaint the readers of this publication with the easy-to-follow rules for developing rapid reading skill, the company has printed full details of its interesting self-training method in a new booklet, "How to Read Faster and Retain More" mailed free to anyone who requests it. No obligation. Send your name, address, and zip code to: **Reading, 835 Diversey Parkway, Dept. 531-013, Chicago, Ill. 60614.** A postcard will do.

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State-By-State Preview of Senate Races

Senate Republicans, currently outnumbered 64 to 36, are almost certain to score major gains in the November elections—whether or not LBJ is re-elected. This is a fact of political life that even Sen. Edmund Muskie (D.-Maine), chairman of the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee, admits privately.

The non-partisan **Congressional Quarterly** judges the re-election prospects of nine Democratic senators at no better than "doubtful." A split of these nine would mean a Republican gain of four or five seats, giving the GOP a new Senate total of 40 or 41 and lessening liberal control of that body. The **Wall Street Journal**'s Alan L. Otten indicates that the **CQ** prognosis may be conservative:

"Pros of both parties agree the GOP will probably gain five or six Senate seats this year even with a strong Johnson showing. A good GOP year could add as many as 10 or 12 Republican seats in the Senate, not enough to overturn the present Democratic edge, but enough to bring the Republicans within striking distance of Senate control in 1970."

Below are the results of a state-by-state survey conducted by **Human Events**.

ALABAMA

Republican senatorial fortunes all but vanished with the January 20 announcement that liberal incumbent Lister Hill would not seek re-election. Six years ago Hill was hard-pressed to defeat a little-known, under-financed Republican, Jim Martin (GOP leaders still maintain the election was "stolen"). Martin, who subsequently served one term in the House, was ready to challenge Hill again and observers gave the GOP conservative an excellent chance of victory.

SELDEN

But Hill's withdrawal completely changed Martin's plans. The Gadsden businessman bowed out of the race, reportedly feeling that he could not beat either of the announced candidates for the Democratic nomination. Both men—Rep. Armistead Selden and former Lt. Gov. James Allen—have conservative reputations and support the presidential candidacy of George Wallace, most popular vote-getter in state history.

The Alabama GOP will concentrate instead on salvaging their three congressmen (Jack Edwards, William Dickinson and John Buchanan) and building a base for future elections. Martin is known to have his eye on the Senate seat occupied by liberal John Sparkman, who is up for re-election in 1972.

ALASKA

Octogenarian peacenik Ernest Gruening faces an uphill struggle in his campaign for re-election. The 81-year-old lawmaker has spurned suggestions that he retire gracefully and Democratic strategists concede that his chances are very slim.

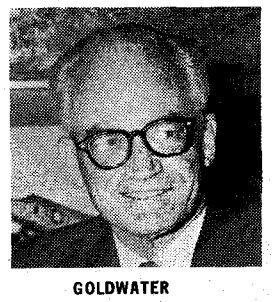
Gruening, a bitter critic of U.S. involvement in Viet Nam, is making the arduous trip back home with increasing frequency as private polls indicate that he faces almost certain defeat. His renomination is by no means certain: Former Alaskan House Speaker Mike Gravel is considering a primary challenge.

Such an intra-party battle would only enhance GOP chances. Two middle-road Republicans—Elmer Rasmuson and Ted Stevens—are now considered to be the front-runners for the GOP nomination. Both Rasmuson, a former Anchorage mayor, and Stevens, majority leader of the Alaska House, are considered capable campaigners with considerable appeal to Democrats and independents.

Gruening's age and his far-out Viet Nam views are considered major liabilities in a state that has become increasingly Republican in recent years. In 1966 the GOP ousted a Democratic governor and congressman and racked up imposing majorities in both houses of the state legislature.

ARIZONA

Ancient Carl Hayden faces the toughest fight of his political career as he mulls over still another statewide race. The 91-year-old solon, a member of Congress since Arizona joined the Union 56 years ago, has given no indication of his plans.



GOLDWATER

Senatorial colleagues, who wince as Hayden is wheeled onto the floor for rollcall votes, do not see how he can go through another campaign—particulary against the hard-hitting Barry Goldwater, who is so far unopposed for the GOP nomination. But the former frontier sheriff was buoyed by a recent poll that showed him leading Goldwater by 4 percentage points and he may still decide to run.

Goldwater backers were not dismayed by the poll. "Hayden's an institution in this state," one says. "But so is Barry and once he starts campaigning, the contrast will be such that Hayden can't win. If they prop him up for public appearance, he'll lose votes. And if they keep him under wraps, the people will know why."

If Hayden decides that discretion is the better part of valor, he is expected to throw his political weight behind his long-time aide, Roy Elson. But Elson—who lost a 1964 senatorial race to Republican Paul Fannin—may have difficulty winning the nomination. State Tax Commissioner Robert Kennedy, a political novice who parlayed another man's name into statewide office, is thirsting for the Senate. Other potential Democratic nominees are former Gov. Sam Goddard, Interior Secretary Stewart Udall and former Ambassador William J. Mahoney.

ARKANSAS

The leader of the Senate doves, J. William Fulbright, is assured of another term if he gets by the July Democratic primary. Arkansas Republicans have decided against a major Senate push and Fulbright needs only defeat fellow Democrat Sidney McMath to come back to Washington.

Defeating McMath, however, will not be easy. The former governor has not yet announced, but associates say that he has been running for many months. "I think Fulbright should have opposition, strong opposition," McMath says. "It is essential that the war he debated and that Arkansas take a stand."

McMath, a major general in the Air Force reserve, is talking Viet Nam and little else. Fulbright softpedals foreign policy, instead rattles off the billions in federal "benefits" that he has brought to Arkansas. The ever-suave solon is a wily, if cynical, politician. Despite his liberal predilictions, he has consistently opposed civil rights legislation and has kept on comparatively good terms with the state's segregationists.

CALIFORNIA

Nowhere are the conservative-liberal lines in the GOP more clearly drawn than in the Golden State, where Max Rafferty is challenging incumbent Tommy Kuchel in the Republican senatorial primary. Rafferty, the hard-hitting superintendent of public instruction and nationally known columnist, has questioned Kuchel's fidelity to party principles and has cut into Kuchel's early lead.

Rafferty cities Kuchel's frequent support of Administration programs and his consistent refusal to back his party's nominees, including Nixon, Goldwater, Murphy and Reagan.

Polls last year gave Kuchel a commanding 16-point lead, but Rafferty's appeals to party regulars have won him support. The latest surveys show Rafferty trailing by only 4 percentage points and still moving up.

State Sen. Anthony C. Beilenson, a little-known Beverly Hills dove, was the first candidate to announce for the Democratic nomination, but he is given little chance. Others discussed for the nomination include Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty, a maverick with many enemies in the Democratic party; former State Controller Alan Cranston, a loser in his last two statewide races; and Thomas W. Braden, ultra-liberal former president of the state board of Education. Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh has declined to make the race, looking forward instead to the 1970 gubernatorial contest.

COLORADO

Silver-thatched Peter Dominick looms a strong favorite to win re-election. The GOP lawmaker, an articulate conservative, has kept his fences well mended and is campaigning strenuously for a second term.

DOMINICK

Dominick's only announced opponent is State Rep. Kenneth Monfort, a Viet Nam dove whose major issue thus far has been his characterization of Dominick as a "rich Easterner of the polo club set." Colorado voters were unimpressed by similar appeals in 1960 and 1962 when they elected the Connecticut-born Dominick to the House and then the Senate. In 1962, in fact, Dominick was one of only two Republicans in the nation to defeat an incumbent senator.

Monfort faces possible primary opposition from former Gov. Stephen McNichols, Colorado House Minority Leader Thomas T. Farley, State Sen. Allen Dines, and ultra-liberal former Rep. Byron L. Johnson. All have political liabilities.

Dominick, who made foreign policy a major plank in his first statewide race, is expected to do so again. He has been particularly critical of the State Department for its "so-what" attitude toward Castro subversion.

CONNECTICUT

Years of carrying water on both political shoulders have taken their toll on 58-year-old Abraham Ribicoff. Six years ago, the former governor, once the most potent vote-getter in state history, was stunned when he received only a bare majority in his first try for the Senate.

Although Ribicoff has labored hard to rebuild his fences, *l'affaire* Dodd has probably undone his efforts. During the long months of Dodd's "ordeal," Ribicoff never once came to his rescue, earning the enmity of Dodd partisans. Then on the eve of the Senate's vote, Ribicoff announced that Dodd had "suffered enough" and he would vote against censure. Ribicoff's vote was sharply criticized in the Connecticut press and by many long-time supporters.

Former Rep. Edwin H. May Jr. is Ribicoff's likely opponent. Another former congressman, Abner Sibal, is contemplating the race but May is favored to receive the party nod. Both May and Sibal are liberals.

The GOP nominee is expected to benefit from anti-Johnson sentiment that is growing throughout Connecticut. Ribicoff is a down-the-line supporter of "Great Society" programs and the Republicans will make this their central issue.

FLORIDA

The Sunshine State, which elected its first Republican governor in 1966, appears ready to elect its first GOP senator since Reconstruction. Rep. Ed Gurney, a solid conservative and attractive campaigner, is the winter book favorite to succeed "Gorgeous George" Smathers, who is retiring after three terms in the Senate.

GURNEY

Gurney faces primary opposition from Herman Goldner, an ultra-liberal former St. Petersburg mayor, but should win easily. His November opponent will be either former Gov. LeRoy Collins or State Atty. Gen. Earl Faircloth, who are already locked in a bruising primary.

The Collins-Faircloth battle promises to leave the Democratic party badly split. Only two years ago Claude Kirk capitalized on a similarly divided opposition to win the state house.

Gurney has established himself as a potent vote getter. Elected to the House in 1962 by 3,000 votes,

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This Year

he increased his margin tenfold two years later. In 1966 he smothered a primary opponent, winning 98 per cent of the vote, and had a free ride when the Democratic nominee withdrew before the election—despite a 3-to-1 edge in registration.

Gurney has been campaigning for the Senate for months, hitting hard at the "Great Society" and espousing conservative principles. Even Smathers admits privately that Gurney should win this fall.

GEORGIA

Veteran Sen. Herman Talmadge appears assured of re-election. Peach State Republicans have apparently decided against a major senatorial challenge and will instead concentrate on re-electing their two congressmen and carrying the state for the party's presidential nominee. Former Rep. Bo Callaway, who had been considering the race, will reportedly wait until 1970 when he can again run for governor. One potential GOP candidate is State Sen. Oliver P. Bateman of Macon but Talmadge, bearer of a household name in Georgia, is a prohibitive favorite.

HAWAII

Liberal Democratic Sen. Daniel K. Inouye is considered a virtual shoo-in for election to his second term. He won in 1962 with 69.4 per cent of the vote. Inouye, the first Japanese-American to serve in the Senate, at present can expect only token GOP opposition; a Hawaii GOP spokesman described him as "invincible," barring a major shift in the political situation.

IDAHO

Ultra-liberal Frank Church is running scared as he seeks a third Senate term. The 43-year-old one-time "boy wonder" is returning to the state almost every weekend to meet the challenge hurled by Republican Congressman George Hansen.

HANSEN

The issues are clearly drawn. Church, a leading Senate dove, boasts a 92 per cent liberal ADA rating; Hansen, a Viet Nam hawk, boasts an ADA rating of only seven. On issue after issue—foreign aid, the "War on Poverty," rent subsidies—the two lawmakers have been at loggerheads.

Hansen is making foreign policy a key issue, asserting that Idaho needs a senator "who understands the world situation. . .not one who says the Kremlin is mellowing." Church is concentrating on what he can do for Idaho voters.

Out-of-state labor groups have promised Church massive aid and the baby-faced solon expects additional financial support from such ultra-liberal groups as the National Committee for an Effective Congress.

Hansen, an impressive and energetic campaigner, was the only Northern Republican to oust a Democratic incumbent in the 1964 election. He was re-elected last fall, winning more than 70 per cent of the vote.

ILLINOIS

Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen is rated an early favorite over his Democratic opponent, State Atty. Gen. William Clark. The tousle-haired "Wizard of Ooze" has been given a clean bill of health by his doctors, although political foes spread the rumor that he is suffering from an incurable illness.

Clark, little known outside Illinois, will be a formidable opponent. Twice elected to statewide office by hefty margins, he is an indefatigable campaigner with few enemies. He is completely loyal to Chicago Mayor Richard Daley and would be expected to give the Administration down-the-line support.

Powerful labor groups have assured the Democratic nominee an ample war chest. "We're going to support Bill Clark," says the United Auto Workers' Robert Johnson, "and I don't care how the press interprets it." Other unions pledging aid include the Steelworkers, the Machinists, the Railway Laborers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers.

While Dirksen is considered in front, Illinois politicos give Clark a good chance to pull off an upset. They note that six years ago Dirksen won by less than 53 per cent of the vote against a little-known opponent. Today the GOP leader is 71 and up against a well-financed opponent with a statewide following. Democrats are expected to make Dirksen's age a whispered issue, as the Republicans did in toppling Paul Douglas two years ago.

INDIANA

Freshman Democrat Birch Bayh will be hard-pressed to repeat his flukish win of six years ago. The one-time semi-pro ballplayer received 50.3 per cent of the vote in ousting the veteran Homer Capehart, but experts give him only a 50-50 chance of re-election.

BAYH

Bayh's probable opponent is 35-year-old William D. Ruckelshaus, Republican leader in the Indiana House. Ruckelshaus, a "moderate," is the GOP's only announced candidate, although Rep. Richard Roudebush, under the urging of many Indiana conservatives, is considering the race.

Bayh, recipient of a 90 per cent liberal COPE voting record, will be battling a strong GOP tide. During the past two years the Republicans made massive gains at the legislative and courthouse level and are expected to retake the governorship this fall. A congressional redistricting plan recently handed down by a federal district court gives the GOP an opportunity to pick up three new seats.

Hoosier Republicans believe that Richard Nixon would be their strongest possible candidate, pointing to the 222,762-vote plurality he racked up in carrying the state eight years ago. A repetition of that performance would make Bayh's re-election nearly impossible.

IOWA

A nationwide survey by the non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly* finds the Democrats leading for only one Senate seat now held by the Republicans. That is in Iowa, where Democratic Gov. Harold Hughes seeks the seat long occupied by Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper, who has announced his retirement.

Two Republicans—State Sen. David M. Stanley and former Rep. James Bromwell—have announced for the seat but early polls give Hughes a commanding lead. Hughes, the state's first Democratic governor, has been re-elected twice by overwhelming margins. In 1964 he received the largest majority ever given an Iowa politician.

Stanley, who announced his candidacy last year, is classified as a party moderate although he does have some conservative support. Bromwell, an avid Goldwater backer in 1964, is generally thought to be the more conservative and reportedly has Hickenlooper's behind-the-scenes support.

Neither Republican, however, is well known across the state. Both must rely on a strong Republican tide if they are to have any chance of victory. But even a GOP landslide might not carry them into office. Two years ago, when the Republicans ousted four Democratic congressmen and gave Sen. Jack Miller a landslide plurality, Hughes swept to victory with more than 55 per cent of the vote.

KANSAS

The retirement of 75-year-old Frank Carlson is unlikely to alter the Senate's balance of power. Kansas Republicans are expected to retain the seat with conservative Rep. Bob Dole, their likely standard bearer.

DOLE

Dole, a battle-scarred veteran of World War II, is the party's only announced candidate. Others interested in the race include conservative Rep. Garner Shriver and former Governors John Anderson and William Avery, both party "moderates." Dole, who is crisscrossing the state in an aggressive campaign, is believed far in front.

The Democrats' strongest nominee would be Gov. Robert Docking, who is expected to seek a second term. Outside Docking, the Democrats have no formidable candidates. Former Rep. J. Floyd Breeding, defeated by Dole in 1964 and by Sen. James Pearson two years later, is available. So is Under Secretary of Agriculture John Schnittker, who is little known and whose Administration connections would be a political liability in a state LBJ is given no chance of carrying this fall.

KENTUCKY

The retirement of Thruston Morton has given Kentucky Democrats a chance to pick up their first Senate seat in a dozen years.

Morton's announcement stunned Democrats and Republicans alike. It will be weeks, perhaps months, before definite predictions can be made, but as many as a dozen Kentucky politicos are now contemplating the race.

The Democratic nomination was to have gone, almost by default, to Katherine Peden, a political unknown who once served as the state commerce commissioner. Miss Peden, a member of the President's Riot Commission, has one announced opponent—former State Rep. Ted Osborne—with several others ready to jump in. Former Governor and Senator A. B. "Happy" Chandler, a conservative Democrat, has been urged to run.

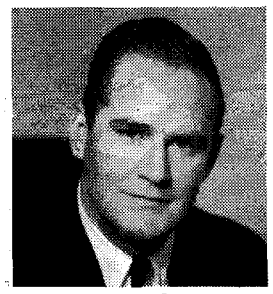
On the Republican side, announced candidates include Lester H. Burns, who ran unsuccessfully last year for state attorney general, and former five-term Rep. Eugene Siler, who is running on a get-out-of-Viet Nam plank. Others considering the race include Jefferson County Judge Marlow Cook, who was defeated in the 1967 gubernatorial primary, and Representatives William Cowger and Gene Snyder. Of the possible GOP candidates, Snyder is considered the most conservative.

LOUISIANA

The re-election of Russell Long is a near certainty. The powerful son of the legendary Huey is likely to be unopposed in the Democratic primary and no Republican has expressed interest in the general election.

MARYLAND

The widely reported extracurricular activities of Democratic Sen. Daniel Brewster have jeopardized his once-promising political career. Elected to the Senate six years ago with 62 per cent of the vote, Brewster now finds himself a decided underdog as he seeks a second term.



BREWSTER

Tales of Brewster's two-fisted drinking have circulated throughout the state for several years. The senator did nothing to dispel these rumors by repeated last-minute cancellations of scheduled appearances. Then last year, scheduled to deliver a major address in Baltimore County, Brewster was literally unable to speak. He remained on the platform, in full view of his audience and the press, in a glassy-eyed stupor.

Brewster's image was further sullied when he shed his wife of many years and married a jet set divorcee. The political ramifications were obvious: More than a third of the Maryland electorate is Catholic.

Not surprisingly, Brewster has strong opposition. Liberal Republican Charles "Mac" Mathias, a potent vote-getter, has opened his campaign and is rated a strong favorite despite a 3-to-1 edge in Democratic registration.

Actually, Brewster may not get past the Democratic primary. Legislative leader Thomas Hunger Lowe is mulling over the race as is perennial candidate George P. Mahoney. The latter has lost seven statewide campaigns since 1950. But in five of those, his candidacy paved the way for a GOP victory.

MISSOURI

Nine-term Rep. Tom Curtis is given an excellent chance to become the first Republican elected to the Senate by Missouri voters in more than two decades.

Curtis, an articulate foe of Johnsonian fiscal policy, is vacating a "safe" House seat to make the race. The GOP lawmaker, who launched his campaign several months ago, will not know the identity of his Democratic opponent until that party's primary on August 6.

Incumbent Edward V. Long, accused of conflict-of-interest improprieties, has stiff primary opposition from Lt. Gov. Thomas F. Eagleton and W. True Davis, former assistant secretary of the treasury.

Long, linked by *Life* magazine to Teamster boss Jimmy Hoffa, was initially cleared by the Senate Ethics Committee. But the committee has reopened its probe, reportedly after receiving new information.

Political observers believe that while Long may triumph in the three-way Democratic primary, he is no better than an even bet against Curtis. A major issue may be the hundreds of thousands of dollars promised Long by Lawrence Callanan, power-

(Continued on page 14)

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Can Negro Business Survive Summer of Riots?

By GEORGE SCHUYLER

Negro businessmen across the country regard with growing apprehension the recurrence of any long, hot summer, along with the steadily rising crime rate in the districts they serve.

Coming on top of the effects of urban renewal and construction of low-rent housing projects with the resultant scattering of customers, plus the inroads of big chain food stores and their competitive power, Negro business seems facing difficult times.

Largely unpublicized was the devastating effect of the epidemic of arson, robbery and vandalizing of business and personal property in Negro districts during the past three years.

While white-owned businesses suffered in perhaps greater degree, Negro concerns were also burned and cleaned out, and they could least stand the losses since their profits were marginal. Those who survived and carried on have been hampered by the difficulty of getting adequate insurance or any at all, for in effect they are in a war zone.

When there are no riots, the increasing burglaries make the conduct of business in these areas hazardous. Colored and white retailers have joined in demanding better police protection, often in vain. No complaints come from them against alleged police brutality.

The impression has been given that there is no Negro-owned business in the black districts; that all establishments are owned by whites. The inference is that this paucity of colored entrepreneurs is due mainly to some racial incapacity to operate business concerns. This is an exaggeration.

In 1960 the census returns showed that Negroes operated 2.6 per cent of all retail outlets in the country, and that they constituted 2.5 per cent of all self-employed businessmen. They also had 4.1 per cent of food stores and 5.6 per cent of all eating and drinking establishments. These businesses were mostly in or near colored residential districts, and from the segregation of housing in those districts, Negro business has traditionally profited.

Significantly, colored businessmen owned less than 1 per cent of retail stores selling apparel, furniture, hardware and motor vehicles, chiefly because of failure to obtain sufficient capital. With barber shops and beauty salons it has been different, and many such enterprises have prospered. The 1,300 Negro manufacturing concerns are mostly concerned with cosmetics, barber and beauty supplies, and even here they have no monopoly because there is increasing competition from white mass suppliers.

On the more encouraging side, the number of self-employed Negroes in construction has climbed 17 per cent, there has been a marked growth in the number of Negro-owned gasoline service stations, automotive repair shops and garages, and expansion in manufacturing. Recent new ventures include plastics, apparel and food processing.

While the over-all picture may seem bleak, there are many prosperous individuals. Statistics are fragmentary, but there would seem to be in the neighborhood of 100,000 Negro-owned retail and manufacturing concerns, and because they are largely in Negro districts, they stand to suffer severely from civil disorders and soaring crime rates.

In 1963 Negroes owned or controlled 13 banks with assets of $717 million. In 1964 six Negro banks received charters or actually opened for business, and three others were seeking charters. All except two were national banks.

There are 34 federally insured Negro-owned savings and loan associations, of which 20 have federal charters. The combined assets of these, along with 30 burial and mutual aid societies with total assets of $1 million, aggregate $764 million. In 1964 the rate of growth of these Negro banks was 8.6 per cent; that of all the country's banks was 5.9 per cent. They deal mostly in small loans and are all located in Negro urban districts.

The Freedom National Bank (FNB) in the heart of Harlem, a supposedly poverty-stricken area, came into being with the support of 12,000-odd stockholders.

The Carver Federal Savings and Loan Association two blocks down the same street was launched 20 years ago, now has assets of over $30 million and operates a branch in Brooklyn's much-maligned Bedford-Stuyvesant area. As an example of its enterprise, it also operates a flourishing branch in mid-Manhattan at 9th Avenue and 23rd Street in a neighborhood whose residents are mostly white people. It has aided in getting for its borrowers more than 6,000 homes.

The savings and loan association with the largest assets ($75-million-plus) is the Booker T. Washington in Los Angeles, which has been equally helpful to the race. It was not mentioned in news stories about the vast "deprivation" of Watts' Negroes.

Of the 50 Negro-owned insurance companies, the top 20 have assets of $311 million, or only .23 per cent of the $133 billion of the U.S. total. They have been the most stable of Negro business, and even during the Depression only two of them failed. About three-fifths of the insurance of these companies is industrial, whereas with white companies it is only 6 per cent.

In 1962 Negro industrial insurance totaled $1.029 billion, or 2.5 per cent of the industry total. The total of these black companies' insurance in force was $1,643,952,344. This does not, of course, represent all Negro insurance, since far more are insured with white companies, the aggregate of all Negroes insured being 85 per cent.

The biggest of the black companies is the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co. of Durham, with $337.013 million insurance in force. Its skyscraper headquarters is a landmark in the city.

The difficulties faced by Negro business enterprises are increased by the fact that the ownership is private rather than corporate, and the Negro community has not mastered the latter. Thus, they lack the resources to expand and meet competition which is becoming increasingly pressing as great chains and combines enter this field. This can be remedied and it had better be if these black entrepreneurs are to survive.

Too, Negroes lack training in management; the well-paid professional jobs they have been getting during the past 20 years with great corporations have been mainly in technical, chemical and mathematical pursuits. It would be difficult to find trained administrative personnel among Negroes even if corporations were set up to exploit the entrepreneurial field. Here the Negroes have failed, so far; and the Kings, Carmichaels and associated agitators have been no help.

There are only a handful of Negro millionaires, but in 1963, 274,000 non-white families had incomes yearly of $10,000 or more, and more than a quarter of these earned in excess of $15,000. Between 1929 and 1963 the number of non-white families in this group rose by 93,000, or 50 per cent. The corresponding rise for all families was about 2.7 million, or 40 per cent. There were additionally 127,383 blacks owning their own farms.

These Negroes dwell well beyond the margin of subsistence. They send their children to college, buy comfortable homes and big cars, entertain graciously and participate in a variety of cultural activities, as well as traveling widely at home and abroad. They have the most to lose from civil riots and white backlash.

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George Schuyler, the Negro conservative, has been a newspaperman and editor for half a century. Among his books are Black No More *and* Black and Conservative.

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A SPECIAL REPORT

TO CONSERVATIVES

from

YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM

Young Americans for Freedom was founded in Sept., 1960, to preserve and strengthen the principles of private enterprise, limited government and individual responsibility. In less than a decade, YAF has become the nation's largest and most effective conservative youth organization. But we could not have accomplished this without the dedicated work of thousands of young people and the generous support from individual conservatives throughout the country.

This year, YAF faces two great challenges: to combat the powerful Communist 50th Year Anniversary propaganda drive among our young people; and to help conservative candidates achieve major victories in the crucial elections ahead. To accomplish these tasks, YAF is undertaking the most ambitious series of Freedom Action Programs in its history. The Student Competition *program described below is the first. There will be others.*

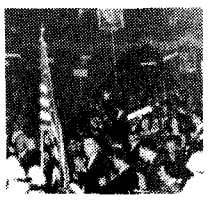
YAF is counting on the continued loyal support of conservatives to answer its call for action *in the crucial months ahead.*

Sincerely,

David A. Jones

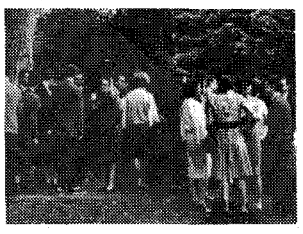
Executive Director

YAF'S GOALS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

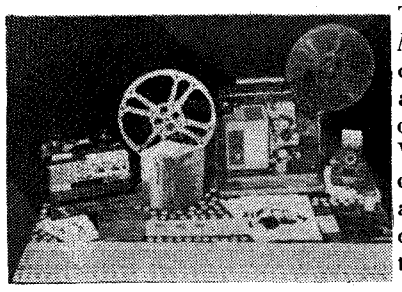


TO PROMOTE CONSERVATISM: Held first National Awards Rally in New York City—hailed by all news media as the greatest conservative rally in many years • Received George Washington Honor Medal Award from Freedom Foundation at Valley Forge, Pa. • Campaign Work—YAF members participated in hundreds of local, county, and state elections from New York to California • Conducts regular campus seminars and symposiums.

TO TAKE STRONG ANTI-COMMUNIST ACTION: Received a freedom award from the All-American Conference to Combat Communism • Organized first mass demonstration to support HCUA in Washington, D. C. • YAF leaders founded the Student Committee for Victory in Vietnam—donated blood, collected patriotic petitions, wrote letters and Christmas cards, sent books and other gifts • Initiated action campaigns against American Motors, IBM and other businesses engaged in trade with Communist countries.



TO BUILD LEADERSHIP YAF: conducts regional conferences, state and college workshops, summer camps to develop and train leaders in politics, journalism, education, business and other key areas • YAF's 1965 National Convention in Washington, D. C. attracted more than 1,000 delegates and alternates—largest gathering of young conservative leaders held up to that time.



TO PROVIDE YOUTH SERVICES: *The New Guard*, YAF's magazine—the voice of campus conservatism • *Special Reports*, such as the one that exposed the radical leanings of the National Student Association, and the W. E. B. DuBois clubs • *Organizational Kits*, containing all the necessary material to start a YAF chapter • *Book Service*, to provide low-cost conservative and anti-Communist books to students • *Film Library* • *Study Programs*.

ELECTION YEAR '68: In February, YAF co-sponsored the Court of World Opinion *Red Trial* held in Washington, D. C. • YAF leaders and members are actively working on behalf of conservative candidates • Nationally, YAF is conducting a *Student Competition* to reach and influence one million college and high school students • More Freedom Programs are planned for the coming months.

WHY LEADING CONSERVATIVES SUPPORT YAF

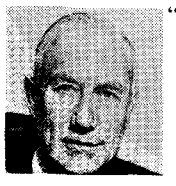
"I believe YAF is one of the most active political agents on the American political scene which can transform our lethargy into responsible action to preserve our constitutional republic."
—REP. JOHN ASHBROOK

"I consider Young Americans for Freedom and the excellent work it has been doing to be of great importance to the future of our country. I am particularly gratified that YAF has been one of the most responsible political action groups in the nation. The future of the young conservative movement depends in a large part on Young Americans for Freedom."
—BARRY GOLDWATER

"YAF is one of the most responsible young people's groups in the country today and is doing an excellent job of spearheading the young conservative movement."
—SEN. JOHN TOWER

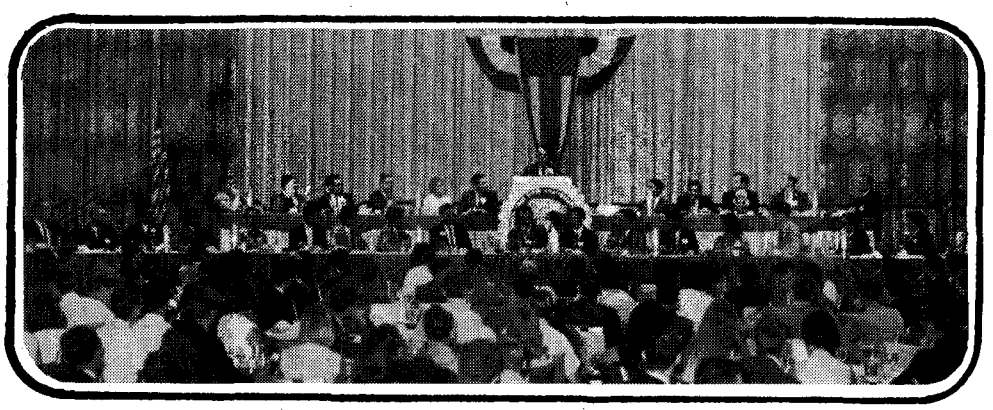
"YAF, just possibly, will influence the political future of this country, and why should it not, considering that its membership is young, intelligent, articulate, and determined . . ."
—WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

"I know of nothing more encouraging for the future of our nation than the appearance on the political horizon of intelligent, young people determined not to trade their heritage of freedom for the 'soup kitchen' of the welfare state."
—RONALD REAGAN



"The vital work that (YAF) is doing is without a doubt the most encouraging sign on the American political scene today."
—SEN. STROM THURMOND

"YAF is actively countering leftist actions with constructive programs . . . I am proud to be a member of their National Advisory Board."
—JOHN WAYNE



ANNOUNCING:

$5,000 STUDENT COMPETITION

CASH AWARDS

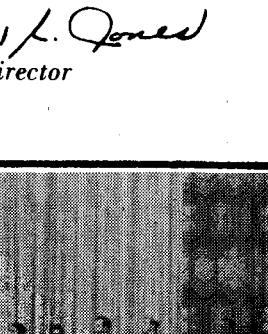
		College	High School
*1st Prize	Scholarship	$1,000	$1,000
2nd Prize	Scholarship	$ 500	$ 500
3rd Prize	Scholarship	$ 250	$ 250

Plus 30 Cash Awards (to 15 college and 15 high school students) of $50 each.

*TWO TOP WINNERS ALSO GET ALL-EXPENSE-PAID TRIP TO WASHINGTON, D. C.

GOAL:

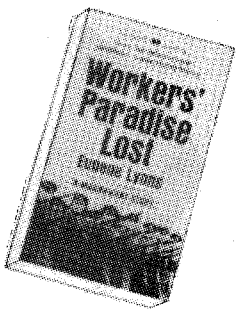
To reach and influence one million college and high school students with these two powerful and persuasive anti-Communist books:



MASTERS OF DECEIT
by FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover

The classic exposé of Communist strategy and tactics—written by the nation's most respected law enforcement officer—a man who has been studying and dealing with the Communist menace for over 45 years. It tells the student what he—as a loyal American—can do to combat Communism in America.

WORKER'S PARADISE LOST
by Eugene Lyons



This is the new, bestselling book by a Senior Editor of *Reader's Digest* and world-renowned authority on Communism. It is a comprehensive "balance sheet" of the last 50 years of Soviet Communism. Mr. Lyons lists all the myths that have been perpetuated by the Communists and their supporters—and refutes them with the *facts*. It is the perfect handbook for any student interested in learning the truth about the Soviet system and how it *really* works.

YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM
1221 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20005

Gentlemen:

I am interested in the vital work YAF is doing and in your Freedom Programs for Election Year '68. Please send me more information, as I have indicated below.

☐ Membership Information ☐ Student Competition Information
☐ I am not a student, but want to know how I can help.

Name _____ (Please Print)

Address _____

City/State _____ Zip _____

If A Student, Please Add:

School _____

Address _____

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Final Chapter in Spy-Net Series

Soviet Espionage Soars in Canada

Conditions north of border ideal for work against U.S.

By EUGENE GRIFFIN, Chicago *Tribune* Canada Bureau Chief

(Russian spies planted in the British and American governments more than 25 years ago have delivered to Moscow secrets of the atom bomb, nuclear submarines, intercontinental missiles, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. They helped organize the United States Central Intelligence Agency and sent to Moscow the names of the agents. During the Korean War they helped formulate the policies that prevented Gen. MacArthur from pursuing the Red Chinese Army across the Yalu River. They were able in 1944 to tell Stalin that Churchill regarded the Soviet Union as the greatest post-war threat. Some of the highly placed Britons who were Russian agents have fled to Russia and recently have begun to talk. With each revelation there is a reaction by American intelligence officials. The Chicago Tribune *has put together the story of these spies. The article below is the last of the seven-part* Tribune *series which has appeared in* Human Events.

Ottawa, Ontario:—Soviet spies in Canada work against the United States in conditions which could be the answer to Kremlin dreams.

The United States shares almost every secret with Canada, its most favored ally. This trust is returned here with an attitude often marked by anti-American bias.

Soviet Embassy agents will offer a bribe to a spy recruit on slight acquaintance, confident that Canadians are soft on communism—nearly 70 per cent agreed in a poll a few years ago that they were too soft on the Red menace.

When caught in espionage activity, the Soviet Embassy denies everything, sometimes mockingly.

"We refute the reports," a Soviet spokesman recently said when asked about a case. "Isn't that a good word, 'refute'?"

A few voices have been raised in dismay at the extent to which espionage has spread in Canada since Igor Gouzenko, the Soviet cipher clerk, betrayed the first atomic spy ring in 1945.

Justice Dalton C. Wells of the Supreme Court of Ontario said that there was a "widespread and urgent" need to watch Soviet agents after he conducted an inquiry into an espionage case.

Wells said that much of the evidence which he had heard about the intelligence underground should not be made public for many years, for the protection of undercover agents.

In connection with the "Spencer case" two years ago, the Montreal *Gazette* learned from informed sources that "the Russians have launched the most massive campaign since World War II to place large espionage networks in Canada, infiltrating government and business, so that Canada can be used as a base from which large-scale espionage operations can be conducted against the United States."

An unusual finding in the Spencer case, named for George Victor Spencer, an elderly postal clerk in Vancouver, was that the Soviet Embassy was looking for rural properties for sale near the American border, to be used as sites for planting agents disguised as Canadian farmers.

Spencer went undiscovered in collecting scraps of information for Moscow. The Soviet Embassy tipped Spencer's hand when it tried to scare an immigrant electronics engineer into spying by threatening his relatives behind the Iron Curtain. The engineer told the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who encouraged him to join the spy ring. He later met Spencer.

Much of the material gathered by Spencer was to be used to create false Canadian backgrounds for agents entering from Communist grain ships in Vancouver. From Canada, agents can move easily into the United States or Britain with Canadian passports.

Gordon Arnold Lonsdale, the Soviet military intelligence agent who was caught and convicted in Britain in 1961, arrived there by way of Canada, complete with false Canadian identity. He actually was the Russian, Konon Molody.

The Department of External Affairs went into detail when it announced that two members of the Soviet mission here had been expelled from Canada for their part in the Spencer affair.

"A Canadian civil servant was paid thousands of dollars to gather information," it said. "In another instance, a naturalized Canadian citizen was paid thousands of dollars to provide technical information in the electronics field related to defense industry and to compromise other Canadians, including female employes of the government, in obtaining classified information. He was given specialized photographic training to assist him in these tasks."

Spencer, fired from the post office without a pension, confessed his guilt as a spy, but was not charged because he was too ill to be tried. Left-wing New Democrats in the House of Commons, however, professing an interest in Spencer's rights, demanded that he be given a hearing to justify the loss of his pension. Spencer died a few days before the opening of the inquiry, which was ordered by Prime Minister Lester Pearson.

Pearson, pressed by John G. Diefenbaker, former Conservative prime minister, also appointed a royal commission, which has been sitting in secret for a year, to inquire into all espionage activity since the Gouzenko disclosures. The new commission also is investigating counter-intelligence methods used in Canada, the United States and Britain.

Pearson appointed M. J. Coldwell, 79, a former Commons member and leader of the Socialist Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, now the anti-American New Democratic party, to the three-man commission. Coldwell quit Parliament in 1961 in favor of a new leader, T. C. Douglas, former premier of Saskatchewan, also a critic of American policies. Pearson's selection of Coldwell was seen as an attempt to appease the New Democrats.

At a commission hearing, one witness, who claimed to have been an undercover agent for the Mounties, asked to be excused because he had once compiled a file on Coldwell. Diefenbaker asked Pearson if Coldwell could be asked to disqualify himself.

Pearson, who was secretary of state for external affairs from 1948 to 1958 and who had spent 20 years in external affairs before entering the Cabinet, has shown little interest in spies or other subversive activities.

When he was president of the United Nations General Assembly, 1952-53, Pearson said he thought it was deplorable that many Americans believed that the U.N. was "honeycombed with subversive agents and that the security of the country was being prejudiced. . . . My own view is that the impression has no basis in reality at all."

While still foreign minister, in 1957, Pearson said in an interview that no member of his department had ever been dismissed because of Communist affiliation. If an RCMP investigation turns up anything derogatory about an applicant entering the department, Pearson said, the final decision is made by the minister. He recalled that he had advised one applicant, because of his background, to look elsewhere.

Another applicant with a similar but more distant past was taken into the department by Pearson. He assured the applicant that "many persons have been interested in Marxism at some time as an intellectual exercise and as a social and economic system. We're satisfied that you are loyal, so just carry on."

Disbelief in spies was shown by Pearson's predecessor, the late W. L. Mackenzie King, who was prime minister when Kouzenko defected. King was on his way to the House of Commons on Sept. 6, 1945, when he was informed that Gouzenko wanted to turn over his evidence to the Canadian government. King sent word to Gouzenko to take his papers back to the Soviet Embassy.

Gouzenko, then 26, with his wife, Svetlana, and their infant son, now a chemical engineering graduate, spent two days in fear of embassy thugs who were looking for him, before he finally came to the attention of Ottawa city police. They took him to the local crown (district) attorney, and Gouzenko's evidence, 109 documents, finally received serious study by the RCMP, and eventually by the prime minister.

King told Parliament that he was so shocked by the revelation that the Soviet Embassy was engaging in espionage that he thought of going to Moscow "and speaking with Generalissimo Stalin in reference to it."

"What I know of Mr. Stalin causes me to believe that he would not countenance action of this kind on the part of officials of his country," said King.

"I believe that when these facts are made known to him, we shall find that a change will come that will make a vast difference."

King did not go to Moscow, he later said, because he feared that he might be told, that "after all, as it was Canadian government officials who were concerned, we had better clean our own house first."

Gouzenko's evidence resulted in the trials for 19 Canadians, including one member of Parliament, and 12 convictions, two of which were overruled in appeal courts. The spy ring, with material filched by other spies in the United States, aided Russia in overtaking the United States in atomic bomb development. The investigation also indicated the existence of four other Communist networks which never have been exposed.

Gouzenko is living under an assumed name on a small income provided by the government and a wealthy benefactor.

This reporter interviewed Gouzenko in 1953, and he said that it might be worthwhile if he could talk with a security investigator from the United States. Pearson objected, and there was a clumsy denial of the Gouzenko interview, but the Canadian government finally gave in.

Gouzenko and the American investigator were so shrouded by diplomatic brass and RCMP when they met that nothing came of the incident.

Gouzenko unexpectedly paid a visit to this reporter, in the pressroom of the Parliament building, a few years ago.

At the time this reporter was sitting beside two correspondents from Moscow, one of whom was soon to be sent back because of attempted bribery of a government employe.

As the two Russians stared at the visitor, this reporter led Gouzenko away without making introductions. The expelled *Izvestia* correspondent, never known to write a story, was Vasily Tarasov, 35, who was sent home in April 1964. He attempted to buy classified industrial information, probably concerning defense contracts, from an official who reported him to the RCMP. Tarasov, a social type, a short time later was acting as a guide for a party of Canadian officials visiting Moscow.

Few expulsions of Iron Curtain diplomats or other alien spies are ever announced by the Canadian government. They are sent home quietly, although security officials want publicity in some cases.

In Parliament, Robert Thompson, a Social Credit member from Alberta, has urged that the government publish a handbook similar to the one used in Britain, "Their Trade Is Treachery," to alert civil servants against espionage agents.

Moscow adopted a pose of injured innocence last year in regard to newspaper stories about Russian spies in Canada. It complained about the coverage given to the Spencer case, the Munsinger incident, and the Featherstone affair.

Gerda Munsinger, a blonde prostitute from Germany, became the mistress of an associate minister of defense in the former Diefenbaker government, the luncheon companion of another Cabinet minister, and a familiar figure in high Ottawa circles.

Authorities said she had a record as a minor Soviet agent in Europe before she came to Canada.

A judge who held a public inquiry into the scandal, which had been hushed up for six years, said in his report last year that Diefenbaker showed startling neglect of national security in failing to fire the associate defense minister.

An example of bribery of a government employe by the Soviet Embassy was the case of Bower E. Featherstone, 27, a lithographer in a government printing plant. He was sent to prison last year on conviction of making illegal copies of a classified navy chart of the Canadian east coast.

Featherstone first sold out to the Russians when asked if he would like to earn extra money as a "letter drop." The Canadian agreed to receive letters to be sent to him with the words "Ottawa, Ontario" underlined in red and to deliver them as directed in phone calls. Featherstone's wife opened one such letter by mistake. It was resealed and delivered; but the receiving agent, noticing that the letter had been opened, refused to give Featherstone the usual $35. Featherstone was later arrested while making copies of secret Canadian coastal charts for the Russians.

Chicago *Tribune*—N.Y. *News* Syndicate)

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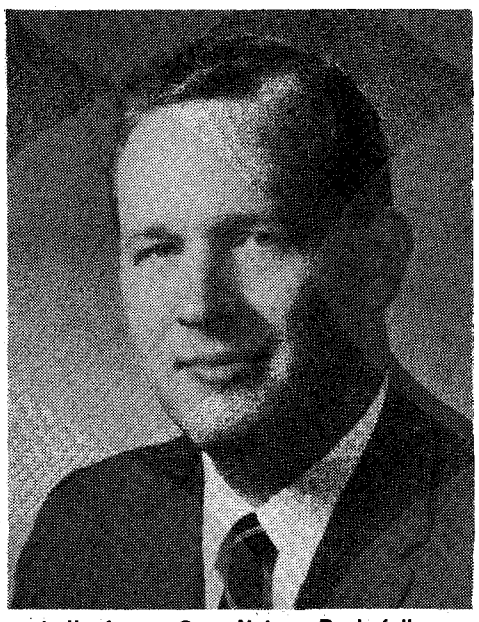

Ohio's Gov. James Rhodes (left), who reportedly favors Gov. Nelson Rockefeller for the GOP presidential nomination, is facing a challenge to his leadership from conservative Rep. John M. Ashbrook (R.-Ohio).

Takes Anti-Rocky Stance

Rep. Ashbrook to Fight for Spot On Ohio's Convention Delegation

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Out of north-central Ohio last week came a memorable political aphorism, uttered by an obscure county chairman.

"Conscience is for church people, not for politicians," he said.

Marion Graven, Republican chairman of Wayne County, may never be heard of again, but his words will not die. They drew a fervent amen from hundreds of minor political figures across the land. Dissenters were in the minority.

All are suffering as their lords—governors, senators, state leaders—maneuver for control of delegates to be sent to the Republican convention in Miami Beach next August. The strategy has one main goal: to climb aboard the right presidential bandwagon at the right moment.

Graven, submitting to orders from Gov. James A. Rhodes, had just maneuvered a vote dumping Rep. John M. Ashbrook of the 17th Congressional District from the list of convention delegates. Ashbrook's crime was his open preference for former Vice President Richard M. Nixon. Rhodes, a favorite-son candidate, believes Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York would put up the best race against President Johnson.

Ashbrook had made what he thought was a simple and reasonable plea. Let at least some of Ohio's 58 delegates go to the convention, he said, unfettered by the governor's dictates. Let them "be guided by their conscience."

To which Graven made his deathless response: Conscience has its place in church but not in the political arena.

Ashbrook may still show up at the convention as a delegate. He and three others will buck the governor's slate in the GOP primary May 7. They will argue that not all delegates should be pawns in the hands of the governor, who is suspected of wishing to barter Ohio's vote in a personal deal for the vice presidential nomination.

"Our party is not boss-oriented like the Democrats," Ashbrook said. "I'm not opposing the party. I'm opposing decisions made in smoke-filled rooms. I'm for Nixon first, Gov. Ronald Reagan second, but could support all other nationally prominent candidates except Rockefeller. His record of anti-Republican philosophy and party disunity gives me grave doubts."

Some doubts are also arising elsewhere. Rep. Melvin R. Laird (Wis.), chairman of the conference of 187 House Republicans, will create a small stir this week by denying that he had ever expressed a preference for Rockefeller.

Many had put Laird in the role of Rockefeller supporter because of his statements urging the New York governor to get into the race. Otherwise, Nixon would be "unstoppable."

Laird now says he merely wanted all the major candidates, Nixon, Rockefeller, Reagan, Gov. George Romney (Michigan) and Sen. Percy (Illinois) in the Wisconsin primary.

"At no time have I indicated a preference," he said. "I will vote for the winner of the Wisconsin primary."

Laird, in effect, was coming out for Nixon who he privately predicts will win the Wisconsin primary. He remarked that, while Rockefeller is still shown as the leading contender in the five major polls being published, "Nixon is fast closing on Rockefeller."

"If Nixon starts winning primaries, it is quite possible he will move into the No. 1 position when placed against President Johnson," he added. "Should any candidate win all four major primaries—in New Hampshire (March 12), Wisconsin (April 2), Nebraska (May 14), and Oregon (May 21), he could not be denied the nomination in Miami."

This is exactly what Nixon has been contending. He will draw comfort from this conclusion reached by Laird, esteemed by many as the shrewdest political leader in Congress.

(Copyright 1968, Chicago Tribune)

□ □ □

NEW TEXAS VOTERS—An estimated one million new voters have been added to the rolls in Texas as a result of an intensive drive among unregistered Negroes and Mexican-Americans financed by state organized labor. The new figure would mean about four million eligible Texas voters this year, an increase of 35 per cent over 1966. The added voters are expected to help LBJ to carry his home state, a proposition now regarded as a toss-up; more Negro and Mexican-American voters could also help Texas insurgent liberal Democratic forces, who are behind '68 gubernatorial candidate Don Yarborough, and wrest party control from the dominant conservative organization of Gov. John Connally.

BOOK NOTES

A Book-By-Mail Service For HUMAN EVENTS Readers

That we take note of a book here does not necessarily mean we fully endorse it, nor even that it is written from a conservative viewpoint. It means merely that we regard it as one which may have an impact on political thinking, and accordingly may be of interest to our readers.

THE EDITORS

HUMAN EVENTS • 422 First Street, S.E. Washington, D.C.

My check for $_____ is enclosed. Please send me these books:

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_____ (Title)

Name _____ (Please Print)

Address _____

City _____

State _____ ZIP _____

THE VULNERABLE RUSSIANS, by Lev E. Dobriansky (Pageant, 454 pages, $5.95).

"... **The Vulnerable Russians** deserves the studied attention of every thinking American who is concerned with questions of war and peace, United States-USSR relations, and America's future. Authored by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, of Georgetown University, the work is easy reading, revealing and well documented. It illuminates many fundamental misconceptions held both in official and private circles with regard to the Soviet Union and the Red empire, and it provides concrete alternatives, both in concept and practical action."—By Rep. Edward Derwinski (R.-Ill.) in the **Congressional Record**

PEOPLE AND PLACES, A book of photographs by Barry Goldwater (Random House, 87 pages, 86 plates, $10).

"For 30-odd years I have, in an amateur way, pursued photography as a hobby, as well as with purpose. . . . As I look back it has been a most enriching experience; 5,000 negatives, hour on hour in the dim light of a darkroom, thousands of miles of traveling in my own state and then thousands more across the world in war and peace—exposing, loading, developing and printing. . . . Emerson has written that beauty is reflected from the eyes of the old, but it goes through the eyes and into the heart of the young. So I might say that the beauty I see in a face of a mountain, a river of a forest, the questioning challenge of the design in an old tree or in the markings on a rock, the never-ending loveliness of changing light goes, not just through my eyes to my heart, but through the lens of my camera onto a piece of photographic paper which I hope will awaken in the viewer's heart the same thrill the original subject awakened in mine."

—Barry Goldwater in the introduction

STALIN: An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence, By Leon Trotsky, translated from the Russian by Charles Malamuth (Stein & Day, 516 pages, $10).

"The reissue of Leon Trotsky's classic biography of his victorious rival—the completion of which was prevented when a Stalinist assassin split Trotsky's head with an alpine pick—makes more easily available to a new generation the most important single work on Stalin ever written.

"The proud Trotsky, still unable fully to understand how a semiliterate Georgian lout could best him, ponders at the end of his volume the possibility that Stalin poisoned Lenin. . . .

"... Trotsky, for all the invaluable insights he showers upon his readers, does not really explain Stalin. As Trotsky himself wrote, 'Today I bear as little "hatred" toward Stalin as toward Hitler, Franco or the Mikado. Above all, I try to understand them, so that I may be better equipped to fight them.' But it is the kind of understanding that would be useful to an intelligence expert during war; more is required for a definitive biography."—From **Saturday Review**

CENSORSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES, edited by Grant McClellan, (H.W. Wilson Co., 222 pages, $3.00)

The 41 articles in [this] book . . . survey the various censorship controversies and present a variety of views on pornography and obscenity. Recent Supreme Court decisions concerning censorship by the government or its officials are discussed in one section. Another section deals with other recent developments concerning censorship, including attempts to prevent publication of certain portions of books, and censorship as it affects the purchase and display of books in libraries. Academic freedom is discussed in the final section.

The articles represent many points of view, including selections from the following opinion molders: Richard M. Nixon, Henry Steele Commager, Clifton Daniel, Foreign Affairs, Kathleen Molz and Supreme Court Justices Hugo L. Black and William O. Douglas.

SPRINGBOARD TO THE WHITE HOUSE by James W. Davis, (Crowell, 324 pages, $5.95).

This is a timely study of presidential primaries from 1912 to the present, supported by a detailed set of returns for each primary during this period. The author, chairman of the political science department at Central Michigan University, argues that the growing influence of primaries has turned national political conventions into little more than ratifying bodies. He also explores the "stay-out-of-primaries" strategy, as well as the hazards to front-running candidates in primary campaigns.

CONTACT ON GORKY STREET: The Story of Wynne and Penkovsky by Greville Wynne (Atheneum, 222 pages, $4.95).

"An excruciatingly real spy story told by Greville Wynne, the British partner in a spy mission carried out for the English. He was the courier and contact for the high-placed Russian colonel, Oleg Penkovsky of the famous **Penkovsky Papers.**

"Wynne posed as an English businessman; by his account, Penkovsky passed him papers and films and talked at length with British and American agents (on visits to London and Paris). What he told them was immensely valuable.

"Wynne's quiet but intense narrative mirrors the mechanics of secret-agent missions, the Russians' fury and brutality when they arrested Wynne (in Budapest in November 1962) and Penkovsky, the mockery of their double trial, and the dreadful prisons. Wynne was held prisoner for 18 months, then exchanged for a Russian spy. He never saw Penkovsky again but has heard that he is dead.

"The book is a major footnote to the history of the Cold War, and a forceful and credible exposition of the shadowed, tortuous life of secret agents."—From **Publisher's Weekly**

SECRET SERVICE: 33 Centuries of Espionage by Richard W. Rowan with Robert Deindorfer (Hawthorne, 786 pages, $10).

Originally published in 1937 under the title "The Story of the Secret Service," this book remains the classic history of espionage. It has now been brought up to date to include the most recent headline-making espionage scandals.

The **New Yorker** greeted the original edition with these words: "It is improbable that anyone knows more than Mr. Rowan about this field. His fabulous, backstairs chronicle covers a few thousand years of spying and counterspying, from Delilah to the Gestapo. Lots of sensational stories, but plenty of sober reflections also, for Mr. Rowan is well aware of his subject's political implications."

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Continued from Page 9

Preview of Senate Races This Year

ful St. Louis labor boss who was imprisoned in the '50s for racketeering and then pardoned by LBJ.

NEVADA

Democrat Alan Bible holds an early lead over Republican Edward Fike in seeking his third term. Bible, chairman of the Senate District of Columbia Committee, has, for a Democrat, established a relatively conservative voting record that Fike, the state's lieutenant governor, may find difficult to capitalize upon.

Fike, a protege of Nevada Gov. Paul Laxalt, will attempt to link Bible with LBJ. In announcing his candidacy the GOP nominee likened Bible to a "puppet dancing to the tune of the White House" and charged that LBJ could depend on Bible on crucial votes.

A former state legislator, the 42-year-old Fike was elected lieutenant governor with 53 per cent of the vote in 1966. He is an able campaigner, but most observers feel that he will need close to a GOP landslide to oust Bible.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Third-term Republican Norris Cotton is likely to win re-election. Democratic Gov. John W. King would be Cotton's strongest opponent by far, but he has not indicated interest in the race.

NEW YORK

Liberal Republican Jacob Javits, a winner by nearly one million votes six years ago, will settle for a plurality of one vote this November. As the nonpartisan *Congressional Quarterly* recently reported, a "combination of factors" threatens Javits with the first defeat of his political career.

JAVITS

These factors include the increasingly powerful Conservative party, which could drain away as many as a million normally Republican votes. Should the Conservatives nominate the articulate and debonair William F. Buckley, Javits' chances would be further damaged. But Buckley, who garnered more than 340,000 votes in his 1965 race for New York mayor, has said he will not run this year.

A strong Democratic opponent would make Javits' task even harder. There are two announced candidates—Representatives Joseph Resnick and Otis Pike. Resnick, who would cut into Javits' strength with Jewish voters, is a hawk who has attacked Javits' wishy-washy stand on Viet Nam. Pike, a political moderate, frankly admits that he is more conservative than the ultra-liberal Javits.

NORTH CAROLINA

Seventy-two-year-old conservative Democrat Sam Ervin is a heavy favorite to win re-election against token opposition in both the Democratic primary and the general election. The decision of former Gov. Terry Sanford not to enter the primary leaves political novice John T. Gathings Sr. as Ervin's only opponent.

Three Republicans—Larry Zimmerman, Edward Tenney and Robert Somers—have announced for the race, but the GOP hierarchy has decided to concentrate on the presidential, gubernatorial and congressional contests. The party is given a good chance to capture the governorship and as many as four new House seats.

NORTH DAKOTA

Republican Milton Young, ranking minority member on the Senate Agriculture Committee, is heavily favored for re-election. No Democratic challenger has yet appeared and the veteran solon, a "moderate" Republican, has only token opposition in the GOP primary.

OHIO

Maverick Democrat Frank Lausche is taking his case "to the people" as he seeks renomination in the May 7 primary. Dumped by party liberals who gave the Democratic endorsement to former Rep. John Gilligan, the conservative lawmaker is waging an energetic campaign to keep alive his 35-year political career.

Gilligan has been promised all-out aid by powerful unions dissatisfied with Lausche's lowly 18 per cent COPE rating. As a member of the 89th Congress the 46-year-old Gilligan racked up a "perfect" record on labor's charts and will receive financial assistance from at least a dozen national unions.

The winner of the Democratic primary will meet state Atty. Gen. William Saxbe, the GOP nominee, in November. Saxbe, who has demonstrated wide appeal in winning three statewide contests, is considered a party moderate.

If Lausche is defeated it is likely to be in the Democratic primary. He has traditionally received substantial support from Republicans and independents, but they are unlikely to participate in the Democratic primary. Thus the feeling by Ohio politicos is that Lausche, should he win renomination, will be favored over Saxbe. But if Gilligan is the primary winner, Saxbe can expect the support of Lausche Democrats and probably should win.

OKLAHOMA

Democrat Mike Monroney is seriously threatened by the aggressive campaign now being waged by Republican Henry Bellmon, the state's first GOP governor.

BELLMON

Bellmon was elected governor in 1962 and proved so popular that four years later voters chose another Republican, Dewey Bartlett, as his successor. Bellmon served last year as chairman of the national Nixon for President Committee, resigning that post to devote full time to the Senate campaign.

Monroney is plainly scared and Oklahoma newsmen who have seen him rarely in recent years report that he is now desperately seeking to prop up his fences. Possessor of a skimpy 14 per cent ACA rating, he is posing as a moderate to prevent Democratic defections.

Six years ago Monroney received but 53 per cent of the vote against a virtually unknown Republican who was hampered by a severe lack of campaign funds. Bellmon enters the race a proved vote-getter in a state that has become increasingly Republican in recent years. GOP candidates have made substantial gains at the local level and the party's two-man congressional delegation could be doubled this fall.

OREGON

The terrible-tempered Wayne Morse continues to trail in Oregon's Democratic senatorial primary. Morse, long the most vocal of Senate doves, is soft-pedaling Viet Nam as he fights for his political life against former Rep. Robert Duncan. Instead, Morse argues that Oregon desperately needs the seniority he has built up over the years.

Noting that Lister Hill's retirement makes him the ranking member on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, Morse insists that "the Democratic party of Oregon cannot justify throwing away the chairmanship of one of the most powerful committees in the Senate."

Morse, who had trailed by more than 20 percentage points last year, is believed to have closed the gap somewhat by his nonstop campaigning. Nevertheless, he is still behind Duncan, who received more than 48 per cent of the vote in his first Senate race two years ago and has a sizable statewide following.

The Republican nomination will go to State Rep. Robert Packwood, a 36-year-old liberal who is described as an able campaigner but who is little known. His chances should improve if the Morse-Duncan split persists after the May primary.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia blueblood Joseph Clark enters the 1968 campaign a surprising favorite for re-election. The ultra-liberal lawmaker, a narrow winner in 1962, has developed a legion of political enemies but nonetheless holds substantial leads in unpublished private polls.

The dovish Clark faces potentially serious primary opposition from Rep. John Dent, a Viet Nam hard liner. The magnitude of Dent's challenge will depend to a great degree on his success in raising funds. Thus far, at least, he seems to be making little headway.

Clark's 91 per cent COPE rating guarantees him all-out support from organized labor. A ranking member of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, he is termed by one union lobbyist as "valuable an ally as we've got."

Assuming he gets through the primary, Clark will face GOP Congressman Richard Schweiker, a moderate to liberal (ACA rating: 61; COPE rating: 50). Schweiker, who is little known outside the Philadelphia area, has been unable thus far to generate much enthusiasm for his candidacy. He accused Clark of "hypocrisy" in supporting LBJ's re-election but the voters did not appear to notice.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Freshman Democrat Ernest Hollings, elected two years ago with only 51 per cent of the vote, faces strong opposition as he campaigns for a full six-year term.

Several prominent Democrats—including former Sen. Donald Russell and Rep. William Jennings Bryan Dorn—are considering primary challenges and one "nuisance candidate," liberal John Bolt Culbertson, has already entered the race. Incumbent Hollings should win renomination, but may find that the carefully constructed coalition that sent him to Washington two years ago has crumbled.

Hollings, the target of GOP charges that he was a pro-Kennedy liberal, received heavy Negro support in 1966. It was Negro voters who provided Hollings his margin of victory, but since coming to Washington he has alienated them by opposing civil rights legislation and Thurgood Marshall's Supreme Court confirmation.

While currying segregationist and conservative support, Hollings nevertheless backs LBJ for re-election. GOP nominee Marshall Parker, who came within 11,758 votes of victory two years ago, has labeled Hollings a political chameleon and says the voters favor "someone they can trust, somebody who can exercise a judgment for the people rather than for political opportunism."

SOUTH DAKOTA

The largest contribution received by George McGovern in his 1962 Senate campaign was $22,000 from a radical ban-the-bomb group called the Council for a Livable World. The money was of crucial importance in an election decided by 597 votes and McGovern has demonstrated his gratitude time and again.

He has advocated unilateral reductions in defense spending, denounced U.S. involvement in Viet Nam, and pooh-poohed the Soviet military threat. Not surprisingly, he will again receive heavy support from out-of-state peace groups.

Despite his far-out ideology, McGovern stands an excellent chance of re-election. He has worked tirelessly for his constituents, answering their mail, interceding in their behalf with government agencies and performing the little services that can mean the difference between victory and defeat. So well has he done these chores that a usually reliable statewide poll gave McGovern huge leads last December over the two men mentioned for the GOP senatorial nomination, Gov. Nils A. Boe and former Gov. Archie Gubbrud, both conservatives.

Republicans feel that by hammering at McGovern's record, they can close the gap between now and November. They expect Richard Nixon to sweep the state if nominated and to carry the senatorial candidate into office. But as of now McGovern must be classified as the favorite.

UTAH

Republican Wallace Bennett is considered a likely winner in his bid for a fourth Senate term. Gov. Calvin L. Rampton is the only Democrat who could give Bennett a scare, but Rampton is expected to seek re-election. Potential Democratic nominees include state Atty. Gen. Phil Hansen; Milton Weilenmann, director of State Development Services; and Salt Lake attorney John S. Boyden, twice an unsuccessful candidate in Democratic gubernatorial primaries.

VERMONT

Seventy-six-year-old George Aiken, a Vermont institution, should have no trouble winning a sixth term. The veteran Republican won by nearly 2 to 1 in 1962 and should repeat. Only Democratic Gov. Philip Hoff is conceded a chance and he has given no indication that he is interested in the race.

WASHINGTON

Democrat Warren Magnuson is out in front as he campaigns energetically for a fifth Senate term. The veteran solon learned his lesson six years ago when he made few public appearances and a Republican newcomer, Richard Christensen, came within 45,000 votes of victory.

MAGNUSON

Magnuson is not making the same mistake again. He is returning home at every opportunity to remind voters of the assorted "benefits" he has secured for them. Detailed campaign plans were laid out last summer by Jerry Grinstein, Maggie's tax-paid executive assistant.

Republican Jack Metcalf, a youthful state senator, has launched an aggressive campaign to unseat Magnuson. He is crisscrosing the state, hitting hard at Magnuson's ultra-liberal voting record (COPE rating: 100). But Magnuson has won support from even supposedly conservative businessmen because of his work in behalf of the Boeing Co., the state's largest single employer. As one GOP fund-raiser said ruefully:

"We ask many businessmen for money and they say, "If you beat Magnuson, we'll lose the SST [Boeing's supersonic transport contract]. He's done quite a job convincing the fat cats just that."

WISCONSIN

Democratic Sen. Gaylord Nelson will need all the help he can get as he seeks a second term. Much of that help will be coming from out-of-state labor groups, which have promised the always dependable solon (COPE rating: 100) massive financial aid. Nelson, a dove on Viet Nam, also expects assistance from the National Committee for an Effective Congress and other left-wing splinter groups.

Nelson, who was elected with less than 53 per cent of the vote six years ago, reportedly believes that GOP Gov. Warren P. Knowles would be his strongest possible opponent. But Knowles may run again for a third two-year term as governor.

State Sen. Jerris Leonard, GOP leader in the upper house, has announced his candidacy for Nelson's seat. Leonard, described by friends as a "pragmatic Republican," says he will withdraw if Knowles makes the race. Another potential candidate is Wilbur Renk, who ran unsuccessfully against Democratic Sen. William Proxmire four years ago. Renk, a liberal and party maverick, has been George Romney's Wisconsin campaign manager.

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House Cuts Back Arts Bill, 261-130

Following is the 261-to-130 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives slashed by 80 per cent the authorization for the National Foundation for the Arts and the Humanities. The Administration had asked $135 million for fiscal 1969, but the House on this amendment by Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) reduced the authorization to $11.2 million and cut out the fiscal 1970 authorization entirely. The $11.2 million bill then passed by a 272-to-123 rollcall vote.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 104

Abbitt
Abernethy
Addabbo
Andrews (Ala.)
Ashmore
Aspinall
Baring
Bennett
Bevill
Blanton
Brinkley
Burleson
Cabell
Casey
Clark
Colmer
Culver
Davis (Ga.)
de la Garza
Delaney
Dorn
Dowdy
Edmondson
Edwards (La.)
Evans (Colo.)
Everett
Fallon
Fascell
Fisher
Flynt
Fountain
Fulton (Tenn.)
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gathings
Gettys
Hagan
Haley
Hamilton
Hardy
Hays
Hebert
Henderson
Herlong
Hull
Ichord
Irwin
Jarman
Jones VMo.)
Jones (N.C.)
Kazen
Kornegay
Landrum
Lennon
Long (La.)
McFall
Machen
Mahon
Marsh
Mills
Monagan
Montgomery
Morris (N.M.)
Natcher
Nichols
O'Neal (Ga.)
Pike
Poage
Pool
Pryor
Purcell
Randall
Rarick
Rogers (Colo.)
Rogers (Fla.)
Roush
Shipley
Sikes
Sisk
Slack
Smith (Iowa)
Steed
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Taylor
Teague (Tex.)
Tuck
Tunney
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waggonner
Waldie
Walker
Watts
White
Whitener
Willis
Wolff
Wright
Zablocki

REPUBLICANS FOR: 157

Adair
Anderson (Ill.)
Andrews (N.D.)
Arends
Ashbrook
Ayres
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Betts
Biester
Blackburn
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Brock
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown (Mich.)
Brown (Ohio)
Broyhill (N.C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Burke (Fla.)
Burton (Utah)
Bush
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cahill
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Conable
Corbett
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Davis (Wis.)
Denney
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Duncan
Dwyer
Edwards (Ala.)
Erlenborn
Eshleman
Findley
Fino
Ford, Gerald
Frelinghuysen
Gardner
Goodell
Goodling
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hall
Halleck
Hammerschmidt
Hansen (Idaho)
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Hosmer
Hunt
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
Keith
King (N.Y.)
Kuykendall
Kyl
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Lukens
McClory
McCloskey
McClure
McDonald (Mich.)
McEwen
MacGregor
Martin
Mathias (Calif.)
May
Meskill
Michel
Miller (Ohio)
Minshall
Mize
Morton
Mosher
Myers
Nelsen
O'Konski
Pelly
Pettis
Pirnie
Poff
Pollock
Price (Tex.)
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Reid (Ill.)
Reinecke
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Riegle
Roth
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Sandman
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Scott
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Smith (N.Y.)
Smith (Okla.)
Snyder
Springer
Stanton
Steiger (Ariz.)
Steiger (Wis.)
Taft
Talcott
Teague (Calif.)
Thompson (Ga.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Utt
Vander Jagt
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Whalen
Whalley
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams (Pa.)
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wyatt
Wylie
Wyman
Zion
Zwach

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 111

Adams
Albert
Annunzio
Barrett
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Brown (Calif.)
Burke (Mass.)
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Carey
Celler
Cohelan
Conyers
Daddario
Daniels
Dawson
Dent
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dow
Dulski
Eckhardt
Eilberg
Farbstein
Flood
Foley
Ford, Wm.
Fraser
Friedel
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Griffiths
Hanley
Hansen (Wash.)
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hechler (W. Va.)
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Hungate
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson (Calif.)
Jones (Ala.)
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Leggett
Long (Md.)
McCarthy
Macdonald (Mass.)
Madden
Matsunaga
Meeds
Miller (Calif.)
Minish
Mink
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
Olsen
O'Neill (Mass.)
Patman
Patten
Perkins
Philbin
Price (Ill.)
Rees
Reuss
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rodino
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal
Ryan
St Germain
Scheuer
Sullivan
Tenzer
Thompson (N.J.)
Tiernan
Udall
Wilson, Charles
Yates
Young

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 19

Bell
Button
Collier
Conte
Dellenback
Esch
Fulton (Pa.)
Gude
Halpern
Heckler (Mass.)
Horton
Kupferman
McDade
Mathias (Md.)
Mayne
Reid (N.Y.)
Reifel
Schwengel
Stafford

ANSWERED "PRESENT:" 1

NOT VOTING: 39

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• There are now actually three **anti-crime bills** being considered by the Senate: the basic Administration "safe streets" bill, and the versions of this passed by the House (HR 5037) and Senate Judiciary Committee (S 917) last year. LBJ's bill authorizes $100 million in planning and project grants for improving law enforcement methods, equipment and personnel. Arguing that federal grants to local police could lead to a bona fide "police state," House Republicans amended that "safe streets" bill to allow $75 million in block grants to the states; also, $30 million was earmarked for helping local police deal with riots. The Senate Judiciary Committee's interpretation of the bill added $35 million to the Administration's requested authorization, for the purpose of riot control; additional amendments permitted court-approved wiretapping and allowed voluntary confessions as court evidence. As public concern over crime continues to mount, the Senate can be expected to act soon on one of these bills.

• The Senate Banking and Currency Committee has followed the lead of the House and approved a bill (S 2857) eliminating the **gold cover,** the present requirement that each Federal Reserve bank maintain reserves in gold certificates of not less than 25 per cent against its Federal Reserve notes in actual circulation. Conservative Republican Senators Bourke Hickenlooper and John Tower have announced they will attempt to reduce the gold coverage requirement to 12.5 per cent rather than have it eliminated entirely, a move that was rejected by liberals in the House.

• After being rejected by the Senate Finance Committee and the Johnson Administration, Sen. John Williams has vowed to introduce his package of **spending reduction and taxation** measures (S 2902 and S 2903) as amendments to the excise tax bill which will come before the Senate this month. Williams' provisions would force an $8-billion minimum federal spending reduction, extend excise taxes and provide a 6 per cent surtax on individual income taxes and an 8 per cent surtax on corporations. Williams believes this to be the most effective way for the Administration to combat the $20-billion deficit the country faces, but notes that no Democrat has introduced a single bill to carry out LBJ's request for tax increases; by introducing his provisions as amendments, Williams plans to make liberal Democrats "put up or shut up" on the subject of fiscal responsibility.

• Liberal lobbyists are placing increasing pressure on Congress to authorize the full amount of funds in fiscal 1969 for the **Public Broadcasting Corporation,** a federally assisted outfit that participates in educational television programming. The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 (PL 90-129) provides for $12.5 million to be given the corporation for fiscal 1969, but LBJ has indicated he will request new authorization authority of $20 million. Congressional conservatives, sensitive to the nation's priorities in time of war and deficit spending, are aiming to cut down this authorization.

• The House has passed a **Truth-in-Lending Bill** (S 5) and the measure is now in a House-Senate conference preparatory to final passage. The House finally deleted restrictions on the revolving credit systems used in most department stores, the provision which prevented the bill's passage last session, and Senate acceptance of this modification is by no means assured.

• President Johnson has sent to Congress a request for $2.9 billion in **Foreign Aid Authorization** (HR 15263), the smallest foreign aid request in the program's 20-year history. LBJ's think-small approach was undoubtedly prompted by congressional action on last session's aid measure, when economy-minded conservatives led the fight to lop $787 million off the Administration's requested aid funds, bringing the total down to $2.6 billion. Of the $2.9 billion requested this session, $2.5 billion is for economic aid and $420 million for military assistance. Despite the almost niggardly request, the Administration might see its foreign aid allotment cut once more by a frugal Congress.

Senate Rollcall Killing Open Housing Exemptions

Following is the 48-to-43 rollcall vote by which the Senate on March 5 turned back an amendment offered by Sen. Howard Baker (R.-Tenn.) which would have exempted from the 'fair housing' measure all owner-occupied single family homes.

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT: 48

DEMOCRATS (35): Anderson, Bartlett, Bayh, Brewster, Church, Clark, Dodd, Gruening, Harris, Hart, Hartke, Inouye, Jackson, Kennedy (Mass.), Kennedy (N.Y.), Long (Mo.), Magnuson, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Monroney, Montoya, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Symington, Tydings, Williams (N.J.) and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (13): Aiken, Boggs, Brooke, Case, Dominick, Fannin, Griffin, Hatfield, Javits, Kuchel, Percy, Scott and Smith.

FOR THE AMENDMENT: 43

DEMOCRATS (23): Bible, Burdick, Byrd (Va.), Cannon, Eastland, Ellender, Ervin, Fulbright, Gore, Hayden, Hill, Holland, Hollings, Jordan (N.C.), Lausche, Long (La.), McClellan, Smathers, Sparkman, Spong, Stennis, Talmadge and Yarborough.

REPUBLICANS (20): Allott, Baker, Bennett, Carlson, Cooper, Cotton, Curtis, Fannin, Hansen, Hickenlooper, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Miller, Mundt, Murphy, Pearson, Thurmond, Tower, Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

Paired for the amendment: Byrd (W.Va.) and Mansfield (Democrats); Dirksen (R).

Paired against the amendment: Pastore and Morse (Democrats); Prouty (R).

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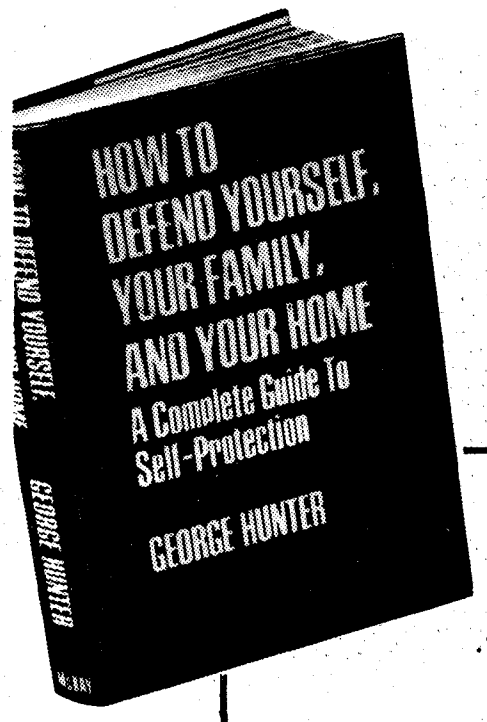

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- **What to do if you find yourself in a bad neighborhood . . . if you're being followed.**
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